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Works of travel in a publishing empire:

John Murray III and domestic markets

for the far away, circa 1860-1892

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Abstract

This thesis draws upon the literatures of historical geography, book history, and archival theory to investigate the production of travel narratives by the London publisher John Murray during the second half of the nineteenth century. It traces the processes by which in-the-field experiences of explorers and travellers were translated into a textual and physical object: the published book. By interrogating the practicalities and technicalities of geographical publishing, particularly in relation to travellers' paratexts, the thesis draws attention to the need for geographers to consider the literary commercialisation of geographical knowledge.

The John Murray Archive provides an unusual opportunity to examine geographical publishing across 33 years, 138 titles, and 102 authors. Murray's extensive correspondence and detailed financial records provide source material for the first comparative study of these books. The structure of the thesis follows Murray's publication process, from accepting or rejecting manuscripts to textual editing, the shaping of paratexts, production of illustrations, and, ultimately, sales, translations, and further editions of later nineteenth-century books of travel. It places remarkable works of travel Murray published in the later nineteenth century — books by authors including David Livingstone, Paul Du Chaillu, Heinrich Schliemann, and Isabella Bird — in the context of the unexceptional. In conclusion, this thesis furthers academic understanding of a nationally important archival resource, demonstrating the value of a longitudinal survey which accounts for economic as well as epistemic influences upon geographical publishing.

Lay Abstract

How did readers find out about new geographical discoveries? Between 1860 and 1892, the British publisher John Murray helped more than 100 travellers share their writing with the public. The publication process had many steps, from first deciding whether to accept a manuscript to delivering the finished copies. Murray coordinated the work of the individuals who carried out these steps: editors, printers, illustrators, mapmakers, printers, binders, and booksellers, as well as the authors themselves.

Experienced travellers were not always experienced authors. Many kinds of editing were necessary before a traveller's manuscript could be printed, bound, and in the hands of a bookseller or librarian. Geographers often write about how authors' texts were edited, but they don't often consider paratexts – features of a book like its title, preface, index, appendices, illustrations, maps, and binding. John Murray was particularly concerned with paratexts because they were often the first thing customers noticed about a new book. All these features cost money to produce, however. The John Murray Archive makes it possible to track the successes and failures of every travel book Murray published between 1860 and 1892. Unusually for a publisher's archive, most of the financial records have survived intact, along with thousands of letters. Used together, these sources show how commercial influences shaped the communication of geographical knowledge in the nineteenth century.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me, is my own work, and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Anne E. Peale

October 9, 2017

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I have talked of you to my friends and of the very pleasant time I had often had at your house. Of course every body [*sic*] who is not a donkey, knows the name of John Murray here, for your father and your publications have gone all over the world where the English language is spoken.¹

With characteristic flamboyance, celebrated explorer Paul Du Chaillu attested to the reputation of his publisher. Though hyperbolic, Du Chaillu's assertion was grounded in truth: during the later nineteenth century, John Murray was arguably Britain's most recognisable and most respectable publisher of books about travel. Murray's *Handbooks* were the ubiquitous companions of British tourists in Europe and beyond, and as publisher to the Royal Geographical Society and the British Admiralty, Murray made connections with travellers who, like Du Chaillu, ventured to more exotic locations and returned with publishable narratives of their own.²

Had he made such a statement about himself, Du Chaillu also would have been accurate. He had introduced Europe to the gorilla, and the veracity of his claims had been hotly debated by the geographical community as well as the international press. With sales in excess of 10,000 copies, Du Chaillu was John Murray's most profitable author of travel books published in the latter half of the nineteenth century.³

¹ National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) Ms 40206, Paul du Chaillu to John Murray IV, March 17, 1881.

² J. Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

³ See an extensive discussion of sales and profits in Chapter 7.

What, though, of the more than one hundred other authors whose travel narratives Murray published during the same period? Du Chaillu was a highlight of Murray's list: exceptional in sales, profits, and public recognition. In contrast, the works of most Murray travel authors sold fewer than 2,000 copies, made modest, if any profits, and were certainly not successful enough to merit a second printing, let alone a fourth or fifth. These books, and their authors, have received little academic attention, but they provided a base for Murray's business and his reputation as a leading publisher of travel literature.

This PhD places the exceptional works of travel published by John Murray in the later nineteenth century — books by authors including David Livingstone, Paul Du Chaillu, Heinrich Schliemann, and Isabella Bird — in the context of the unexceptional. It considers the processes by which in-the-field experiences of explorers and travellers were translated into a textual and physical object: the published book. Furthermore, it illustrates the relationship not only between author and publisher, but between publisher and the readers, editors, printers, binders, illustrators, and booksellers who all helped shape travellers' narratives. It is a thesis about geography, about publishing, and about the people and technologies which made it possible to bring books into print.

Travellers, 1860-1892

The Murrays' contribution to travel publishing during the first half of the nineteenth century has been extensively, even exhaustively explored. Though travel literature was never the sole or even the most significant portion of Murray's business, it has been called the house's "greatest contribution to the advancement of knowledge and

of human understanding of the world”.⁴ In total, the house of Murray published more than four hundred books of travel and exploration between its founding in 1778 and the middle of the nineteenth century.⁵

This study examines new works published by Murray in the second half of the nineteenth century. Specifically, it begins in 1860, the year after Murray had published the last of his great books of Arctic exploration, and concludes in 1892 with the death of John Murray III.⁶ While this thesis chronologically follows from the work of Keighren, Withers, and Bell’s *Travels into Print* (2015), its scope is differently defined.⁷ *Travels into Print* considers only non-European books of travel, while this study includes works about travels in Europe and within Britain. Furthermore, this thesis is limited to an examination of first-person narratives: it excludes biographies of travellers, travel fiction, guides to travel, historical accounts of early expeditions, and new editions of works published before 1860. The resulting longitudinal survey of 33 years, 138 titles, and 102 authors allows for an examination of trends in Murray’s publishing practices as well as the identification and analysis of exceptional occurrences.

Du Chaillu is also credited with claiming of Murray: “My publisher is not a publisher, he’s a gentleman”.⁸ John Murray III carried on a distinguished family

⁴ H. Carpenter, *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing Dynasty* (London: John Murray, 2008). p. 124.

⁵ I.M. Keighren, C.W.J. Withers and B. Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁶ F.L. McClintock, *The Voyage of the ‘Fox’ in the Arctic Seas* (London: John Murray, 1859).

⁷ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

⁸ RGS Archives, JMS/21/75. “A Remembrance of Du Chaillu”, typescript signed T.L.G. 1903; Carpenter (2008), p. 205.

business which his father and grandfather had cultivated for nearly a century. Carefully produced, modest print runs and relatively high prices characterise Murray's later nineteenth-century publications. A fundamentally conservative businessman, John Murray III largely focused his energy upon an existing market of well-educated readers rather than attempting to cater to a broader range of the rapidly expanding British reading public. Fraser (1996) remarks: "the Murrays of that time were hardly looking for excitement".⁹ In fact, Murray entirely withdrew from competitive market for fiction in the second half of the century.¹⁰ As Emilius Albert De Cosson wrote in 1878, Murray's publications belonged to "a more serious class of literature".¹¹

John Murray III did continue to develop the business' reputation as Britain's preeminent publisher of travel books, founding a series of *Handbooks for Travellers*, tourist guides to Europe and beyond, in addition to publishing travellers' first-hand accounts of their journeys.¹² Murray regularly encountered authors who were prominent members of British society through his connections with the Royal Geographical Society and the British Admiralty, yet these writers' desire to see their narratives in print did not always align with the potential for a profitable publication. In some cases, Murray accepted manuscripts with the knowledge that the resulting

⁹ A. Fraser, "A Publishing House and Its Readers, 1841–1880: The Murrays and the Miltons", *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 90:1(1996) 4–47. p. 43.

¹⁰ G. Paston, *At John Murray's. Records of a Literary Circle, 1843–1892* (London: John Murray, 1932). p. 25.

¹¹ NLS Ms 40279, Emilius Albert De Cosson to John Murray, April 25, 1878.

¹² See W.B.C. Lister, J. Murray and V. Murray, *A Bibliography of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers and Biographies of Authors, Editors, Revisers and Principal Contributors* (Dereham: Dereham Books, 1993); G. Goodwin and G. Johnston, "Guidebook Publishing in the Nineteenth Century: John Murray's Handbooks for Travellers", *Studies in Travel Writing* 17:1(2013) 43–61.

book was almost certain to net a loss. The role of publisher-as-businessman, then, both complimented and conflicted with publisher-as-gentleman.

Who were Murray's travel authors, and how did they contribute to geographical knowledge? David Stoddart has argued that: "Simply for a person to travel about the world in the late nineteenth century did not by the emerging standards of the time constitute a contribution to the discipline of geography".¹³ As a publisher and businessman, Murray was concerned more with novelty and marketability than about validating his authors' geographical credentials. In fact, the Royal Geographical Society's reviewers declared several of Murray's travel authors insufficiently geographical to be printed in the Society's own publications.¹⁴ Although the RGS attempted to hold its publications to a high scientific standard, its membership and aims were much more diverse. The definitions of geographer and traveller were fluid and evolving in the later nineteenth century, propelled and constrained by a culture which increasingly allowed a broad range of society — in social class, gender, and profession — to engage in their own travels.¹⁵ Furthermore, the boundaries between the identities of explorer, traveller, and mere tourist were a frequent point of contestation (and personal pride) for Murray's authors.

Most of the popular narratives of travel Murray published are situated in what Driver (2001) has called the "unsettled frontier" between books of travel and those of

¹³ D.R. Stoddart, "Do We Need a Feminist Historiography of Geography. And If We Do, What Should It Be?", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (1991) 484–487. p. 484.

¹⁴ See, for example, Royal Geographical Society Archives, JMS/7/26. R. Murchison. Report on an article by Armin Vambery, "A Journey to Khiva, Bokhara and Samarcand", December 10, 1864.

¹⁵ F. Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

science and exploration.¹⁶ In this thesis, I have not attempted to separate narratives of travel from those of exploration. The definitions of the two terms are blurry at best, and as I discuss in Chapter 5, the term “exploration” was not frequently used to describe any of Murray’s publications during the later nineteenth century.¹⁷ Furthermore, as I discuss in Chapter 7, the generic categories into which we now place these works are frequently anachronistic. Murray’s travel authors would certainly not all have considered themselves geographers, yet they all contributed to geographical knowledge as it is defined today.

Murray’s later nineteenth-century travel books have primarily been studied with a focus on individual writers or publications. Academic researchers frequently refer to Livingstone’s journals of African exploration, Schliemann’s narratives of archaeological discoveries, and Bird’s pioneering accounts of her solo travels.¹⁸ To

¹⁶ Driver (2001), p. 2.

¹⁷ See B.H. Murray, “Introduction: Forms of Travel, Modes of Transport” in *Travel Writing, Visual Culture, and Form, 1760–1900*, ed. M. Henes and B.H. Murray (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 1–18. p. 7. For discussions of how to define travel literature, see, among many others, D. Carey, “Compiling Nature’s History: Travellers and Travel Narratives in the Early Royal Society”, *Annals of Science* 54:3(1996) 269–292; C.L. Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); J. Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); J. Borm, “Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology” in *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. G. Hooper and T. Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 13–26; T. Fulford, D. Lee and P.J. Kitson, *Literature, Science, and Exploration in the Romantic Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); T. Youngs, “Introduction” in *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling in the Blank Spaces*, ed. T. Youngs (London: Anthem, 2006) 1–18.

¹⁸ See, among many others, D.O. Helly, *Livingstone’s Legacy: Horace Waller and Victorian Mythmaking* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1987); J.D. Livingstone, “Missionary Travels, Missionary Travails: David Livingstone and the Victorian Publishing Industry” in *David Livingstone: Man, Myth and Legacy*, ed. S. Worden and S. National Museum of (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2012) 32–51; F. Driver, “Missionary Travels: Livingstone, Africa and the Book”, *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129:3–4(2013) 164–178; L.C. Henderson, “David

contextualise these most prominent authors and books, however, it is also necessary to establish what is unexceptional. Du Chaillu wrote his “donkey” letter in 1881, shortly before the publication of his third book with Murray. His professional relationship with the Murrays spanned more than four decades. Du Chaillu corresponded with John Murray III, Murray’s cousin Robert Cooke, and later John Murray IV. More than 200 pages of letters — procedural inquiries about the publication process, updates about his latest manuscripts, newsy reports on his travels, and occasional frustrated outbursts — are preserved in the John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland. The John Murray Archive is the basis for this study; its breadth and depth illuminate how an established publisher adapted to the changing economies, technologies, and geographies of the market for books in the later nineteenth century. Ledgers, correspondence, and other papers document the complete cycle of publishing, from receipt of a manuscript, to initial reading, editing, selection and production of maps and illustrations, printing, advertising, and sales.

In the extent of his archival record, Du Chaillu is again exceptional; the John Murray Archive, while extensive, is not entirely complete. Some of the authors Murray published are represented by only a handful of letters, and others by none at all. Moreover, some stages of the publishing process are ephemeral and not

Livingstone’s Missionary Travels in Britain and America: Exploring the Wider Circulation of a Victorian Travel Narrative”, *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129:3–04(2013) 179–193; J.D. Livingstone, *Livingstone’s ‘Lives’: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); O. Checkland, *Isabella Bird and ‘a Woman’s Right to Do What She Can Do Well’* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996); S. Clark, “‘A Study Rather Than a Rapture’: Isabella Bird on Japan” in *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, ed. J. Kuehn and P. Smethurst (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015) 17–34; M. Domosh, “Toward a Feminist Historiography of Geography”, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (1991) 95–104; A. Maddrell, *Complex Locations: Women’s Geographical Work in the UK, 1850–1970* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

necessarily recoverable, even if the existence of those processes is well-documented. Despite these absences, the John Murray Archive is one of the most extensive publishers' archives in the UK.¹⁹ The records make possible quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of editorship, print runs, physical size and format, illustration, and sales and profits. The nature of the archival holdings, and the ways they suggest and constrain areas of research, are discussed in Chapter 2.

The content of the archive has shaped and guided the lines of enquiry in this thesis. While some of its records do concern the substance of the narratives Murray published, the John Murray Archive primarily illuminates the processes of book making. John Murray III did not read every book he published in full; likewise, I have not read every book this thesis considers. Like Murray, I have concentrated my attention on the processes and economies of publishing, attending in large part to the paratexts through which most readers, and potential purchasers, encountered these books.

Murray in the Market

Before turning to the structure of the thesis, it is necessary to establish the significance of Murray's work in the wider context of nineteenth-century publishing, and the contributions of this study to the discipline of historical geography. Developments in the practices of geographical knowledge making, as well as the media and technologies available to communicate that knowledge, led to a rapidly specialising market for geographical literature in the later nineteenth century. Singly

¹⁹G. Bond, "The John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland", *Studies in Romanticism* 47:1(2008) 91–99.

authored narratives like those published by John Murray were one of many ways travellers communicated the results of their journeys to the public. Though access to cheap print expanded dramatically during the nineteenth century, books of travels were still luxury purchases.²⁰ Murray operated at the upper end of the market; the travel narratives which Murray published cost, on average, more than half a year's subscription to a circulating library.²¹ Mudie's Select Library and its competitors, the chief customers for most of Murray's travel books, made novels and other relatively costly books accessible to the middle classes by charging a modest fee to borrow one volume at a time.²² Circulating libraries made it possible for publishers like Murray to continue publishing small print runs at relatively high prices, a model which was rapidly becoming outmoded.

During a period when many publishers took advantage of industrial processes to print large editions in cheap formats, Murray declined to cater to a less prosperous public; he rarely trashed down titles beyond half the cost of their first edition.²³ By issuing only relatively expensive books, Murray could avoid the narrow profit margins that came with high-volume, low-price publication and maintain his reputation as the preeminent British publisher in the field of travel and exploration.²⁴

First-person narratives published in book format were not the only way travellers communicated the results of their journeys. Many of Murray's travelling

²⁰ L. Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

²¹ See Figure 7.2.

²² G.L. Griest, "A Victorian Leviathan: Mudie's Select Library", *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 20:2(1965) 103–126.

²³ See a discussion of this practice in W. St Clair, "The Political Economy of Reading", *School of Advanced Study, University of London* (2012).

²⁴ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

authors also published reports in the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal* or *Proceedings*. Publications of the RGS and its peer institutions focused primarily upon verifiable exploration and discoveries, though, and some authors encountered resistance from reviewers when their articles were deemed full of exciting incident, but lacking in technical detail and "not sufficiently geographical".²⁵ With circulation figures exponentially higher than those of either of singly-authored narratives or technical publications, newspapers and other serials reached a far larger audience than did Murray or the RGS. Daily, weekly, or quarterly issues could rapidly report the sensational experiences of explorers recently returned from their journeys, or print letters from those still in the field.²⁶ The same text was sometimes presented in dramatically different formats. Public lectures, lantern slides, and exhibitions of specimens and artefacts made geographers' experiences accessible to an even broader public.²⁷ While monographs are often the best-remembered contributions of geographical authors, and the most straightforward to study, many or even most readers learned about travellers' experiences through other media.

An understanding of the breadth and circulation of this wider market qualifies the claims which can be made based solely upon consideration of Murray's travel publications. Even so, the John Murray Archive provides an unusual opportunity to study the intentions of more than 100 geographical authors, and to observe how the

²⁵ F. Herbert, "The Royal Geographical Society's Membership, the Map Trade, and Geographical Publishing in Britain 1830 to Ca 1930: An Introductory Essay with Listing of Some 250 Fellows in Related Professions", (1983). Royal Geographical Society Archives, JMS/7/26. R. Murchison. Report on an article by Armin Vambery, "A Journey to Khiva, Bokhara and Samarcand", December 10, 1864.

²⁶ See J. Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1816–1860* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

²⁷ F. Driver, "On Geography as a Visual Discipline", *Antipode* 35:2(2003) 227–231.

publication process shaped both travellers' texts and paratexts. The uneven survival of relevant material and the nature of archival organisation has encouraged historical geographers to pursue detailed studies of single authors, or even single publications. The epistemological influence of publishers and other agents upon travellers' texts has frequently been considered, particularly with regard to textual editing and its associated questions of authority and credibility. This practice has led to a deep understanding of the influences upon key figures in the history of travel and exploration, but it has rarely provided a sufficiently broad context for those studies.²⁸ This thesis demonstrates the value of a longitudinal study, accounting not only for those travellers whose works are best-remembered, or whose correspondence is best-preserved, but a full range of successes and failures.

Livingstone (2005) has encouraged geographers to attend to the "spaces of textual circulation".²⁹ This thesis suggests that the discipline must also attend to the spaces of textual and paratextual production. By exploring in detail the local practices of Murray's publication cycle for geographical literature, the thesis suggests that geographers have too often neglected a key phase of this process: the production and editing of travellers' paratexts. Geographers have infrequently considered paratexts. Yet it is through these associated media: titles, prefaces, dedications, appendices and indexes, maps and illustrations, that many readers first encountered geographical knowledge. In this respect, what follows provides an original contribution to the discipline and expands substantially upon the work of

²⁸ S. Naylor, "Historical Geography: Geographies and Historiographies", *Progress in Human Geography* (2007).

²⁹ D.N. Livingstone, "Science, Text and Space: Thoughts on the Geography of Reading", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30:4(2005) 391–401.

Keighren, Withers, and Bell (2015), who consider John Murray's late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travel narratives primarily in relation to concerns of epistolarity, epistemology and textual editing.³⁰

Authors and publishers measured success in different ways. For some authors, simply bringing the narrative of their travels into print was a substantial accomplishment. In considering Murray's evaluation of manuscripts for publication, the thesis draws attention to the importance of social class and to audience in publishing geographical literature, and the ways in which financial means affected travellers' ability to communicate the results of their discoveries. The negative connotations of professional authorship led Murray to decline many authors whose primary motivation was financial. Murray's unusual profit-sharing model explicitly discouraged travellers for whom financial benefit was for them a requirement of publication. Understandings of cost and value permeated the publishing process; publisher and authors frequently found themselves at odds over what was appropriate, or practical, to print. Authors with more substantial means could focus upon circulating their discoveries via a reputable publisher like Murray, in an attractive format which would attract positive reviews from the geographical and scientific communities. It was the more-than-textual elements over which the publisher exerted most influence, and through which the reading public first encountered travellers' discoveries.

Publishing was a business. Although this thesis will show that neither Murray nor the authors he published acted purely on financial motivations, the cost and technological constraints of publication shaped geographers' communication with

³⁰ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

the reading public. By interrogating the practicalities and technicalities of geographical publishing in a small sector of the market, this thesis draws attention to the need for geographers to consider the literary commercialisation of geographical knowledge.

Structure

This thesis describes the role of the publisher John Murray in writing, making, and marketing of works of travel between 1860 and 1892. It examines how the expectations of authors and publisher, the technologies of print, and the economics of publishing shaped the ways geographical knowledge was communicated, via published narratives, to a reading public. The structure of the thesis follows Murray's publication process, from accepting or rejecting manuscripts to textual editing, the shaping of paratexts, production of illustrations, and, ultimately, sales, translations, and further editions of later nineteenth-century books of travel. Chapters 1 and 2 provide context for the detailed assessment that follows. Existing literature in the fields of historical geography, book history, and archival theory provide a basis for this analysis.

The first step in the publication process was determining what to print. The house of Murray was offered many more manuscripts than it eventually agreed to publish, relying upon paid readers to evaluate submitted manuscripts. Chapter 3 uses correspondence and ledgers to trace the identities and the work of Murray's readers, and to analyse Murray's calculations about the potential profitability of a new work. I consider how novelty, variously defined, was critical to Murray's perception of a

manuscript, and how an author's social status and gender affected the publisher's decisions.

Murray was particularly reluctant to accept any manuscript which would require substantial editorial intervention. Editing could be costly and time-consuming, but exceptional travellers were not always exceptional writers. Chapter 4 traces correspondence between publisher, authors, and editors to demonstrate the network of scholarship Murray developed in order to manage the complexity of the narratives of travel he published. In addition to adjustments of style and structure, some editors intervened on behalf of authors whose continuing travels took them beyond the reach of regular communication with Murray; others collected and polished the fragments left by authors who had died during their journeys.

While Murray delegated the task of textual editing, the publisher regularly engaged authors in detailed correspondence about the paratextual content and physical form of their books. Chapter 5 demonstrates how decisions about titles and prefaces, dedications, appendices and indexes shaped the finished work. In selecting format and paper size, Murray balanced the association of physical size and authority with the increased costs of larger books. Because these paratextual elements of a new work were critical to a buyer's first impression, Murray made a substantial effort to influence their content and appearance.

Illustrations were an expected feature of later nineteenth-century travel narratives. Chapter 6 explores how images travellers produced on-the-spot, whether hand-drawn or photographic, were crafted into a form suitable for mechanical reproduction. Particularly sensitive for authors was the use of wood engravings to represent photographs, which, for reasons of expense, could not be included in

ordinary travel books until the very end of the nineteenth century. The technical limitations of nineteenth-century printing technologies, the high cost of reproducing images, and the mediated translation of on-the-spot observation into printed image problematise the credibility and authenticity of illustrations which travellers shared with the reading public.

Chapter 7 examines Murray's advertising practices and expenses, his arrangements with foreign publishers, and the ways he adjusted the content and appearance of later editions in order to maximise the success of his publications. Murray sold his books to the trade, rather than directly to customers. Murray's readers, the ultimate market for his travel publications, thus leave few traces in the archive. Reviews and records of individual reading are rarely preserved, but some sense of a likely readership can be gained from investigating Murray's sales figures, pricing, advertising strategies, and profits (or lack thereof). Furthermore, adjustments to the paratext and format of second and later editions, and the management of translations and publication abroad, demonstrate the ways the Murray adapted to the demands of the market.

In conclusion, this thesis furthers academic understanding of a nationally important archival resource, demonstrating the value of a longitudinal survey which accounts for economic and technological as well as epistemic influences upon geographical publishing.

Chapter 2

Literature Review, Archival Sources, and Methodology

This thesis draws upon the literatures of historical geography, book history, and archival theory to investigate the publication of travel literature in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century. Chapter 2 provides a broad contextual overview of the literatures in each of these three key disciplines, but it is difficult to draw firm lines that separate these and other approaches which rely upon historical texts and archival research. Where sources speak to the specific claims of my empirical work, I have referred to them in Chapters 3 through 7 without reference to disciplinary boundaries. Archival methodology is generally theoretical because the organization, structure, and content of archives are necessarily unique; the final section of Chapter 2 describes the resources and limitations of the John Murray Archive for research into the publication of travel books during the later nineteenth century.

Historical geographies of travel and exploration

The production and distribution of travel literature can be divided broadly into three phases: first, the experience of travellers and explorers in the field and the production of notes, diaries, journals, and other forms of in-the-moment records; second, the formalisation of those notes and memories into coherent narratives; and third, the editing, publication, marketing, distribution, reading, and reception of those narratives. This thesis is concerned with the final of these three phases, and

particularly with the means by which the publisher influenced each aspect of its progress.

To understand the ways Murray shaped an author's narrative into a published text, it is necessary to have some understanding of how that text was produced — how the author came to travel, and to write about his or her experience. Interest in the field of travel writing has increased dramatically in the last two decades. An early focus by scholars on formal analysis and close readings of texts, literary or otherwise, led to a period of postcolonial theorisation stimulated by Said's *Orientalism* (1978).³¹ These approaches met with criticism, however, and “early readings of individual texts were often laughed out of court for their level of detail and their apparently paranoid decoding of imperialist rhetoric and its key tropes”.³² Pratt's landmark *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), combats that disciplinary trend towards literary readings devoid of historical and cultural context. Combining anthropological methods with literary study, Pratt considers the nature and interpretation of contact between European explorers and the inhabitants of the colonised “other”.³³

Recent studies have drawn upon Pratt's ground-breaking notion of a contact zone, a “space of imperial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable

³¹ M.B. Campbell, “Travel Writing and Its Theory” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. P. Hulme and T. Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 261–278. p. 262.

³² Campbell (2002), p. 267.

³³ M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

conflict”, to consider the interaction between explorers and the peoples they encounter.³⁴ Scholars have investigated both the epistemological basis of empire and the dynamics of the cultural contact zone, topics of primary concern to the history of travel and exploration in the nineteenth century.³⁵ What Bridges (2002) has seen as a nineteenth-century shift in British travellers towards an increasingly international understanding of culture reveals a number of anxieties about British values and the ability of the nation to maintain its preeminent status in Europe.³⁶ Elsner and Rubies (1999) suggest that the rise of modernity made it impossible for a traveller to experience the wonder and spectacle of previous eras, but that this wonder was replaced by two contrasting trends — scientific empiricism and exoticism.³⁷

Thanks to the popularity of travel narratives and the increasing ease of travel itself, the exotic “other” quickly became familiar, leading some tourists and amateur explorers to push farther into unknown and unfrequented regions. Hansen (1999) analyses the loss of wildness or “otherness” in the Alps, exploring the personal and professional relationships between climbers and their guides as the Alps, and even the Himalayas, became increasingly popular destinations for adventure tourism.³⁸ Increased familiarity with travel was not a one-sided experience; newly encountered cultures were often rapidly influenced by westerners, their exoticism “ruined” by

³⁴ Pratt (2008), p. 8.

³⁵ D. Kennedy, “British Exploration in the Nineteenth Century: A Historiographical Survey”, *History Compass* 5:6(2007) 1879–1900. p. 1894.

³⁶ R. Bridges, “Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720–1914)” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. P. Hulme and T. Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 53–69. p. 54.

³⁷ J. Elsner and J.-P. Rubies, *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999). p. 3–6.

³⁸ P.H. Hansen, “Partners: Guides and Sherpas in the Alps and Himalayas, 1850s–1950s” in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. J. Elsner, and Joan-Pau Rubies (London: Reaktion Books, 1999) 210–231. p. 210.

exposure to sailors, missionaries, and ultimately settlers. Driver (2004) notes:

“...reflections on the vices of ‘over-civilisation’ are often to be found within late Victorian narratives of exploration, so much so indeed that they seem almost a requirement of the genre”.³⁹ Johnson (2006) characterises the evolution of travellers’ perceptions of Tahiti as a transition from earthly paradise to a place of corruption and lascivious conduct. She examines the evolution of missionary roles on the island, especially in relation to their portrayal in published narratives of travel, providing a particularly lucid discussion of the relationship between isolation and innocence, and the perception of innocence by European authors.⁴⁰

With the increased popularity of tourism came a need to distinguish between casual traveller and true explorer. The higher respect accorded an explorer indicated a journey undertaken for a purpose greater than that of personal curiosity. The creation of a binary distinction between the two terms, however, obscures the complexity of motivations for travel and the identities of travellers themselves. Driver (2004) emphasises the lack of clear delineation between different types of travellers: “The business of the scientific explorer was not always, or easily, distinguished from that of the literary flaneur, the missionary, the trader or the imperial pioneer”.⁴¹ Even semi-permanent residents of an exotic locale might claim status as explorers: in the case of missionary narratives, for example, Youngs (2006) distinguishes between travel writing and the literature of settlement and

³⁹ F. Driver, “Distance and Disturbance: Travel, Exploration and Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14(2004) 73–92. p. 78–79.

⁴⁰ S. Johnson, “Missionary Positions: Romantic European Polynesians from Cook to Stevenson” in *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling in the Blank Spaces*, ed. T. Youngs (London: Anthem Press, 2006) 179–200.

⁴¹ Driver (2004), p. 75.

colonisation.⁴² All travel writers may not have been true explorers, yet nearly all presented themselves as such. Claims to the legitimacy and originality of travel appear consistently in published narratives of exploration, and just as often — if not more so — in mundane accounts of familiar destinations.

One way of ensuring legitimacy was to undertake travel in the pursuit of scientific knowledge. Kennedy (2007) identifies nineteenth-century exploration as an enterprise “with its own scientific protocols, its own trained practitioners, and its own unique partnerships with scientific societies, the state, and the public”, suggesting that more research is necessary to examine how sociocultural and political forces shaped both the activities of explorers and their published narratives.⁴³ Scientific credibility could be attained through connection with an official sponsoring body, while the social class and education of the explorer also played a role. Driver (2004) notes that Stanley’s reports of Africa were received with incredulity since “they lacked the credentials of the gentlemanly man of science”.⁴⁴ Even within the confine of state-sponsored expedition, however, travellers could occupy different roles. For example, Pratt distinguishes between colonial explorers and naturalists, suggesting that while naturalists often accompanied colonial expeditions staged in the interests of national conquest or commercial profit, they occupied a cultural (and literary) role of “conspicuous innocence”, in contrast with the “assumed guilt of conquest” placed upon the larger party.⁴⁵

⁴² Youngs (2006), p. 15.

⁴³ Kennedy (2007), p. 1883–1888.

⁴⁴ Driver (2004), p. 82.

⁴⁵ Pratt (2008), p. 56.

The development of travel writing as a literary genre paralleled the introduction of increasingly standardised methods of documenting exploration.⁴⁶ Bravo (1999) examines the imperial context of scientific measurement and the tension between unscientific witnessing and reporting and the standardised systems increasingly adopted by imperial powers.⁴⁷ Explorers received training and instruction not only in the use of scientific instruments to collect data, but in the use of their own body and senses. Driver comments: “The proper conduct of observation — in sketching or in collecting, for example — required training not only of the eyes, but also of the hands, the feet, and indeed of the whole body of the observer... there was certainly much more to observing than just looking”.⁴⁸ The exact purpose of these instructions remained a matter of debate, however. Methods of mapping, measuring, and observing the geographies explorers encountered were not standardised until the second half of the nineteenth century, and even then not universally agreed upon.⁴⁹

Upon returning home, travellers were faced with the prospect of communicating their experiences to a larger audience, whether an intimate circle of acquaintances, a learned group of scholars, or the reading public at large. The Royal Geographical Society played an important role in promoting exploration and supporting expeditions both financially and scientifically; this included the

⁴⁶ Elsner and Rubies (1999).

⁴⁷ M.T. Bravo, “Precision and Curiosity in Scientific Travel” in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. J. Elsner, and J. Rubies (London: Reaktion Books, 1999) 162–183.

⁴⁸ Driver (2004), p. 75.

⁴⁹ F. Regard, “Introduction: Articulating Empire’s Unstable Zones” in *British Narratives of Travel and Exploration*, ed. F. Regard (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009) 1–17. p. 3.

publication of exploration narratives once travellers returned to Britain.⁵⁰ Driver (2004) analyses how the records kept by explorers communicate the authority and credibility of their journeys, noting that an explorer's authority was significantly dependent on the production of a credible travel narrative.⁵¹ Craciun (2011) makes a bold claim that nineteenth-century explorers were motivated to travel not by national powers or scientific institutions, but "rather the power of commercial authorship, visual spectacle, and costumed public performance, which drew a heterogeneous group of voyagers toward the profitable display of autonomy, discovery, and identity".⁵² The prospect of publication was sometimes a motivating factor for nineteenth-century travellers, but Craciun's pronouncement glosses over subtleties in practice.

Travel writing has not generally been praised for its literary merits, yet authors of travel narratives faced demanding expectations from publishers and audiences about the style and quality of their books. Books of travel were generally written by authors who were travellers first and writers second. Nineteenth-century readers were actually prejudiced against travel narratives written in an overtly literary style, suggesting that the continual exposure to large amounts of travel writing (as the genre became increasingly popular) created a reading public jaded by the proliferation of poor-quality, overly embellished works. Cavell notes that "some awkwardness or dullness in the writing was not only acceptable but seen as a welcome proof of a book's authenticity".⁵³ Cavell continues: "As the *Blackwood's*

⁵⁰ Bridges (2002), p. 60–62.

⁵¹ Driver (2004), p. 77.

⁵² A. Craciun, "What Is an Explorer?", *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41(2011) 29–51. p. 45.

⁵³ Cavell (2008), p. 19.

Magazine reviewer... put it, in an age of ‘pretensions and make-believe’, the ‘greatest of all luxuries’ was ‘a book written by one who knows nothing about the tricks of book-making’”.⁵⁴ Murray’s challenge was to balance the idealistic demand for natural, straightforward writing with the practical reality that many experienced travellers were inexperienced authors, in desperate need of skilled editing to mould their narratives into publishable form.

Travellers’ published works were often radically different from their field notes, both in style and content. In-the-field writings could lose context and interest when rewritten in narrative form. MacLaren (1992) insists that scholars must re-examine the conventional practice of assuming author and explorer are one and the same, particularly the assumption that the account of events reproduced in publication is accurate.⁵⁵ Authors also had to contend with the transience and fallibility of their own memories. Regard (2009) introduces the notion of a textual unstable zone located between the individuality of experience in the field and the socially constructed limitations imposed on narrators by their awareness of previous records and accounts of other travellers before them.⁵⁶ Borm (2004) draws parallels between the narrative techniques employed by fiction writers and those used by writers of travel narratives, pointing out that recalled events must always include some element of invention.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ J. Cavell, “Making Books for Mr Murray: The Case of Edward Parry’s Third Arctic Narrative”, *The Library* 14:1(2013) 45–69. p. 50.

⁵⁵ I.S. MacLaren, “Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author”, *International Journal of Canadian Studies*:5(1992) 39–68.

⁵⁶ Regard (2009), p. 10.

⁵⁷ Borm (2004), p. 15.

As a result, narrative embellishment, inaccurate observation, plagiarism, and unabashed fiction are all features of nineteenth-century travel books. Adams (1962) explores the variety of ways authors fictionalise narratives of travel and exploration, intentionally or otherwise.⁵⁸ Though his work predates most modern theoretical work on the field of travel and exploration literature, Adams is a useful source for understanding the many ways authors have misrepresented themselves, their journeys, and the peoples they encountered; his discussion of reported conversations between indigenous peoples and western explorers is particularly strong. Fabricant (2005) builds on Adams' work, considering the interplay between eighteenth-century fictional and factual journeys. Plagiarism and intertextuality were also concerns for authors of travel literature, who might pad out their own experience with reference to earlier (and possibly inaccurate) works.⁵⁹

While early works of travel often incorporated reports that combined fact and fiction, Youngs (2006) argues that the development of mass tourism during the nineteenth century led to a separation between the "prosaic and poetic functions of travel writing", with an increasing divide between scientific and popular audiences for literature.⁶⁰ Many publishers employed editors, acknowledged or not, to shape authors' manuscripts into marketable books, mediating between inexperienced writers and the demands of popular taste. Craciun (2013) proposes the term "aggregate authorship" to describe the relationship between John Murray, the British Admiralty, and the authors who published their travel narratives with Murray.

⁵⁸ P.G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660–1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

⁵⁹ N. Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁶⁰ Youngs (2006), p. 7.

Craciun argues that with Murray, the authorship of a book of exploration literature became a highly regulated process that resulted in a product that was an “uneven aggregate of individual and institutional agents”.⁶¹ The concept of multiply influenced narrative plays a key role in this study.

Travel texts were subjected to frequent, often extensive editing, which could fundamentally change the meaning of a text; thus the author, as perceived by a reader, may not be the same person who was witness to events described in a narrative. Topham (2000) offers an extensive historiographical survey of nineteenth-century British publishing and reading practices, considering the movement of texts from authors to readers.⁶² He identifies Darnton’s communications circuit as a foundational model for the study of book history that could be productive if applied to the history of science. This suggestion has been acted upon by authors such as Cavell, Craciun, Keighren, MacLaren, and Withers, among others.

MacLaren’s work explores the development of published narratives from in-the-field notes, emphasising the complicated nature of authorship and the influence of editing in shaping a printed book.⁶³ He examines different editions of printed texts, as well as the manuscript sources used to compile those texts, tracing and interpreting the differences in the context of power, imperialism, and authorial reliability. MacLaren (2003) examines works edited substantially after the death of

⁶¹ A. Craciun, “Oceanic Voyages, Maritime Books, Eccentric Inscriptions”, *Atlantic Studies* 10(2013) 170–196. p. 182.

⁶² J.R. Topham, “Scientific Publishing and the Reading of Science in Nineteenth-Century Britain: A Historiographical Survey and Guide to Sources”, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 31:4(2000) 559–612.

⁶³ MacLaren (1992); I.S. MacLaren, “Explorers’ and Travellers’ Narratives: A Peregrination through Different Editions”, *History in Africa* 30(2003) 213–222. p. 2003; I.S. MacLaren, “In Consideration of the Evolution of Explorers and Travellers into Authors: A Model”, *Studies in Travel Writing* 15(2011) 221–241.

their purported authors. Cook's journal was edited and translated frequently enough, MacLaren argues, that explorers relying upon his descriptions of the Pacific coast might as well have been reading the text in a different edition or language. Cavell (2008) suggests that edited texts do not always reflect a single narrative truth, and that an examination of both journal and published report can convey different understandings, and evolving understandings by explorers, of novel cultures and experiences.⁶⁴

Rogers (2009) examines the readership of and market for travel literature, drawing on printing and publishing records rather than the texts themselves to address publicity, physical format, and book sales during the long eighteenth century. He notes that in comparison with the novel, travel literature was considered a respectable reading option more suited to family or female audiences.⁶⁵ Respectability was a key concern for John Murray; as official publisher to the Admiralty, the house's famously lavish "Arctic Quartos" and other accounts of major expeditions set the tone, and the prices, high — even if the majority of Murray's publications were far less distinguished.⁶⁶

Bibliography and Book History

An increasing number of geographers and historians of science are using book historical approaches to interpret historical texts. A unifying feature of book historical study is that the research conducted goes beyond the text of a work,

⁶⁴ Cavell (2008).

⁶⁵ S. Rogers, "Enlarging the Prospects of Happiness: Travel Reading and Travel Writing" in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. M.F. Suarez and M.L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 781–790. p. 783–784.

⁶⁶ Cavell (2013).

analysing the conditions under which the printed word was authored, edited, published, or distributed. However, the field was described in 1982 as “interdisciplinarity run riot”, and arguably still suffers from the same malady.⁶⁷ Notwithstanding the introduction of textbooks, “how to” guides, national surveys, and international conferences over the past thirty years, the field today is still fragmented. Howsam (2006) identifies book history as sitting at the centre of a triangle of disciplines: history, literary studies, and bibliography.⁶⁸ It is these three areas in which most scholars of the field receive their primary training; however, the disciplines of sociology, economics, and geography are also major contributors to the field. Eggert (2012) suggests that the current state of the discipline is “methodologically, as Carter puts it, ‘agnostic towards literature’”, eschewing literary studies, and particularly literary theory, in favour of an approach centered around the material book.⁶⁹

Book history has clear roots in bibliography and textual editing, independent disciplines with histories much longer than that of the relatively new field. Analytical bibliographers emphasise the importance of the close examination of individual copies of a printed work (and in many cases, multiple copies of a single edition). Bibliography is labour-intensive, often tedious work that has been criticised by modern book historians for its lack of cultural and historical relevance. McKenzie’s “Printers of the Mind” is one example of a study that draws broader historical conclusions from its detailed bibliographical study of working practices in early

⁶⁷ R. Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?”, *Daedalus* 111:3(1982) 65–83. p. 67.

⁶⁸ L. Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

⁶⁹ P. Eggert, “Brought to Book: Bibliography, Book History and the Study of Literature”, *The Library* 13:1(2012) 3–32. p. 14.

printing houses.⁷⁰ Despite criticism for its narrowness of scope, bibliography is not an isolated field, as Eggert (2012) points out: “What is also clear is that the bibliographically grounded insight about textual variation begs literary-critical questions about tone, theme, and characterisation. In the interpretative moment the three concerns — bibliographical, book-historical, and literary-critical — intermesh”.⁷¹ The intermingling of these three fields is articulated graphically in the schematics of Darnton (1982) and Adams and Barker (2001).⁷² Both describe the relationships between actors and influences in the process of book production and circulation. However, they consider different factors as central to the study of book history.

Addressing what he saw as an overly fragmented field, Darnton (1982) proposed a cycle of production focusing on the actors that produce the book as a material object. Author, publisher, printers, shippers, booksellers, and readers form the integral figures of his communications circuit. Social and cultural factors operate on those agents from within Darnton’s model, but his fundamental concern is with the circulation of texts.⁷³ Darnton’s model has been used frequently as a basis for structuring other studies, to the extent that Darnton felt the need to respond to its overuse in his 2007 reflection “‘What is the History of Books?’ Revisited”:

I hoped that the model might be useful in a heuristic way and never thought of it as comparable to the models favored by

⁷⁰ D.F. McKenzie, “Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices”, *Studies in Bibliography* 22(1969) 1–75.

⁷¹ Eggert (2012), p. 8.

⁷² T.R. Adams and N. Barker, “A New Model for the Study of the Book” in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society; the Clark Lectures, 1986–1987*, ed. N. Barker (London: British Library, 2001); Darnton (1982).

⁷³ Darnton (1982).

economists, the kind in which you insert data, work it over, and arrive at a bottom line. (I do not believe that bottom lines exist in history.) It seemed to me in 1982 that the history of books was suffering from fissiparousness: experts were pursuing such specialised studies that they were losing contact with one another. The esoteric elements of book history needed to be integrated into an overview that would show how the parts could connect to form a whole...⁷⁴

Rigid consideration of each aspect of Darnton's model is unnecessary for most book historical studies. However, the model's emphasis on the variety of actors in the cycle of book production, and the influence of social and cultural factors on the publishing network, is a useful way of articulating the discipline's breadth.

Challenging Darnton's proposition, Adams and Barker (2001) suggest a model that emphasises not the human elements in the cycle of book production but the centrality of the text itself; their five core elements are publication, manufacture, distribution, reception, and survival. Adams and Barker also give much more emphasis to "The Whole Socio-Economic Conjuncture", which provides a theoretical (and visual) overarching framework for their model.⁷⁵ They identify "intellectual influences; political, legal and religious influences; commercial pressures; and social behaviour and taste" as acting upon the central elements. Both models, however, suggest that the process of creating a book is not a solitary act of authorial genius, or the solely mechanical task of a printer, but the result of a complex network of actors and cultural influences.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ R. Darnton, "'What Is the History of Books?' Revisited", *Modern Intellectual History* 4:3(2007) 495–508. p. 495.

⁷⁵ Adams and Barker (2001).

⁷⁶ For a more recent study of publishing networks, see M.L. Shannon, *Dickens, Reynolds, and Mayhew on Wellington Street: The Print Culture of a Victorian Street* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

Book history increasingly draws scholars from non-literary backgrounds, but recognition of these efforts in disciplinary anthologies is still infrequent. The scope of Howsam's 2008 historiographical survey of book history indicates that the field is still dominated by scholars of literature. Howsam notes Sher's urging to "'throw the genre net wider'" but her own historiography is exclusively a literary one.⁷⁷

Eisenstein takes a sociological approach in her classic 1979 monograph *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, while Johns (1998) challenges Eisenstein's notion of textual fixity, making extensive use of archival sources to argue for the continued mutability of texts in the hand-press era.⁷⁸ Erickson (1996) approaches book history from a background in economics, analysing the "marginal utility of literary forms", and examining profitability to characterise the relationship between popularity and publishing trends in nineteenth-century England.⁷⁹ His disciplinary approach suggests a useful method for studying publishing as a business, but arguments about how the profitability of literary genres shaped the authorship of and market for books are not always fully realised.

While Howsam's triangular model addresses fields of academic study, Chartier (2006) identifies a triangular relationship between text, book, and reader, drawing on the theories of de Certeau to suggest that the study of any one of these elements must necessarily reference the others. Chartier calls attention to this

⁷⁷ L. Howsam, "What Is the Historiography of Books? Recent Studies in Authorship, Publishing, and Reading in Modern Britain and North America", *The Historical Journal* 51:04(2008) 1089–1101. p. 1097.

⁷⁸ E.L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁷⁹ Erickson (1996), p. 5.

interrelationship in two main claims: that the materiality of a text must affect its meaning, and that “reading is never totally constrained and that it cannot be recursively deduced from the texts to which it is applied”.⁸⁰ That temptation to reconstruct readers, individually or collectively, has been a longstanding challenge for book historians.

Readership and reception is a difficult field of study, as few readers leave any durable record of their purchasing, lending, or reading habits. Furthermore, even if printed texts are relatively static, their meaning and interpretation can change substantially over time.⁸¹ Periodical and newspaper reviews, as well as library records, though, do provide some information about readership. *The English Common Reader* is a classic early example of a book historical study of readers and reading.⁸² Altick uses data about book pricing, literacy rates, publishing and library records to determine the “what” of reading.⁸³ *The English Common Reader* is still cited regularly more than fifty years after its original publication, suggesting the difficulty of assembling a detailed and thorough data set of this breadth. Later studies of reading have often declined such a data-heavy approach in favour of considering the “how”, or more subjectively the act of reading. Price, for example, goes beyond a study of readership and reading to examine the “afterlives” of books and the non-

⁸⁰ R. Chartier, “Labourers and Voyagers” in *The Book History Reader*, ed. D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (London: Routledge, 2006) 87–98. p. 96.

⁸¹ Johns (1998).

⁸² R.D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

⁸³ J. Rose, “Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences”, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53:1(1992) 47–70. p. 47.

textual ways readers made use of the physical book.⁸⁴ Her work is a provocative push at the boundaries of book history, but its reliance on textual evidence and inference, rather than archival documentation, has proved controversial. St. Clair's *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* is a well-regarded exception to readership studies that emphasise the exceptional and the individual.⁸⁵ St. Clair considers English reading audiences across more than a century, investigating dozens of publishers' and printers' archives to compile a quantitative data set that describes printing, book pricing, copyright, and reading habits in a readable text as well as an exhaustive set of appendices.

Publishing, circulation, and reception must necessarily be blended categories. Secord (2003) offers an expansive view of the full cycle of authorship, publication, reading, and reception in his analysis of a sensational and popular work on evolution. His study is impressive both in its detailed attention to an individual text and the extent to which it contextualises its production and reception within a larger discussion of Victorian culture and more specifically book history: an excellent model of the depth and breadth that can be attained in the study of a single work.⁸⁶

The models proposed by Darnton (1982) and Adams and Barker (2001) identify book publishing as the result of a network, rather than a linear continuum, of individual agents. While both models emphasise the centrality of the book, the

⁸⁴ L. Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); L. Price, "From *the History of a Book* to a 'History of the Book'", *Representations* 108:1(2009) 120–138.

⁸⁵ W. St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁸⁶ J.A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

research methods of book history are grounded not in books but in manuscripts — the archival records and correspondence kept by and between publishers, editors, authors, printers, illustrators, and booksellers. Rather than beginning with a book-centered approach and tracing the development of a single text or author, then, my work begins in the archive.

The Murrays and the Archive

The John Murray Archive is the National Library of Scotland's highest-profile archival collection. Acquired by means of a 2006 donation and subsequent gifts and purchases from the Murray family, the archive contains more than a million documents including business records, personal papers, and correspondence of John Murray's publishing business between its founding in 1768 and the twenty-first century.⁸⁷ Throughout the history of the John Murray Archive, its record creators and record keepers have been intimately linked; authors often became family friends and family members were employees. The Murrays gathered and preserved the accounts of their family and their work, first for the purpose of maintaining records of an active business, and later with increasing acknowledgment of those records' cultural and historical value.

From 1812, business and family intermingled for nearly two centuries in the townhouse at 50 Albemarle Street. The ancient archons of Derrida's "Archive Fever" filed documents in their homes, guarding those first archives in a site that was topologically private but nomologically public; the collections at Albemarle Street

⁸⁷ Bond (2008).

were much the same.⁸⁸ The ledgers and letters' designation as an archive acknowledges their significance to readers and users beyond the original record creators. Most importantly, the designation recognises that the Murray records have long-term evidential value to scholars and to the nation as a whole.⁸⁹ The archive was formally recognised as a collection of national importance with the archive's acquisition by the NLS in 2006, and again in 2011 with its inclusion in UNESCO's UK Memory of the World Register.⁹⁰

For what is nominally a collection of publishing records, the John Murray Archive has a surprising amount of personality due to the more than 20,000 authors, artists, editors, customers, and others who corresponded with seven generations of John Murrays.⁹¹ The JMA is a recursive collection, in the sense that many of its documents record the workings of authors who were themselves archival researchers, drawing upon the books and letters of earlier writers to pen historical and travel narratives. Virginia Murray, the wife of John Murray VII and for many years the guardian of the archive referred to the collection as "all my friends in the boxes".⁹² The friends in boxes were often friends in life as well. Celebrated authors published by the house including Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, and, more recently, Freya Stark and Patrick Leigh Fermor, have all developed personal as well as business

⁸⁸ J. Derrida, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression", *Diacritics* 25:2(1995) 9–63.

⁸⁹ T. Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms", *Archival Science* 13(2013) 95–120.

⁹⁰ National Library of Scotland Press Release, *Unesco Memory of the World: National Library of Scotland Gains Global Recognition Again* (23 May 2011).

⁹¹ The initial acquisition included approximately 16,500 correspondents. National Library of Scotland Press Release, *John Murray Archive Arrives at the National Library of Scotland* (27 March 2006).

⁹² V. Murray, *Transcript of Virginia Murray's Talk: The John Murray Lecture 2007* (National Library of Scotland Website, 2007).

relationships with the Murrays, relationships grounded in the house at 50 Albemarle Street. The records produced as a consequence of these friendships enrich the archive and provide some of its most rewarding material — originally for biographers and literary scholars, but now also for curators eager to share the archive's contents with non-specialist public audiences.

The John Murray publishing business was sold in 2002 following more than two hundred years as an independent, family-run house. After years of negotiation and fundraising efforts, its archive was acquired in 2006 for the NLS at an unprecedented cost of more than £31m.⁹³ The archive's transfer has fundamentally altered not only its physical location but the knowledge space it inhabits for its keepers and its users. When the archive was located at 50 Albemarle Street, access to its records was mediated by members of the Murray family, most recently Virginia Murray.⁹⁴ Virginia Murray's mixed identity as both family member and archive manager mirrors the diversity of documents in the JMA itself. Family letters that discuss both private and business matters are intermingled in series of documents that also include ledger books, business and personal correspondence with Murray authors.

The purchase of the John Murray Archive meant that documents which had been stored at Albemarle Street for decades or centuries were boxed up and transferred to controlled storage facilities in the National Library of Scotland. On the event of the archive's physical transfer to the NLS in March 2006, press coverage exaggerated differences in storage conditions between the two locations, suggesting

⁹³ Scottish Government Press Release, *John Murray Archive* (2007).

⁹⁴ Murray (2007).

that vulnerable documents were being rescued from inadequate care by the Murray family. An article in *The Scotsman* reflected the role of an archive in popular imagination, inaccurately revelling in the “ramshackle conditions” of the JMA in a dusty 50 Albemarle Street.⁹⁵ Despite its negative connotations, the figurative accumulation of dust is also a positive cultural symbol of a collection that embodies the authenticity and excitement of rediscovering treasures from another age.⁹⁶ In fact, the collection was remarkably well cared for by the Murray family. While the NLS has invested significant resources into rehousing and conserving the material, the high degree of preservation and quality of its organisation was a key factor in the archive’s acquisition.

The move of the JMA from the Murray family to the NLS has lowered some barriers to accessing the archive, but it has not removed them. For Osborne, while “the existence of an archive always presumes the existence of a public, this is not necessarily the same thing as the general public. After all, many archives today are restricted”.⁹⁷ Those restrictions have evolved, in the case of the JMA, both in terms of information about what is contained in the archive and of permission to gain physical access to the space of the archive. In addition to the obvious physical change of setting, the John Murray Archive’s transfer to the National Library of Scotland changed the intellectual space it occupies. Steedman (2001) asserts that the authority of a historian is dependent on the ability to assert a physical as well as an

⁹⁵ V. Collingridge, “Pages from History”, *The Scotsman* (11 December 2006).

⁹⁶ C. Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); H. Lorimer, “Caught in the Nick of Time: Archives and Fieldwork” in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, ed. D. DeLyser, S. Herbert, S. Aitken, M. Crang and L. McDowell (London: SAGE, 2010) 248–273.

⁹⁷ T. Osborne, “The Ordinarity of the Archive”, *History of the Human Sciences* 12:2(1999) 51–64. p. 54.

intellectual connection to archival material.⁹⁸ The authority of the John Murray Archive has shifted in its transition from family to institutional control. Scholars can no longer claim the distinction of having visited the archive in its original location at Albemarle Street, yet a visit to the NLS carries the institutional authority of a nationally important collection (as well as the new opportunity to cite NLS call numbers in one's footnotes). The rhetoric surrounding the JMA's acquisition emphasised the role of an archive in "preserving the 'collective memory' of nations, peoples, institutions, movements, and individuals".⁹⁹ In the private control of the Murray family, the JMA catered to a limited group of privileged individuals. As a national collection, the JMA is now obliged to provide access and active outreach to a wide variety of users.

The unprecedented level of governmental support employed to acquire the archive obligates its curators to make the archive particularly visible to the general public. Not all potential users of the John Murray Archive are academic researchers concerned with accessing individual documents via catalogue and item number. Substantial outreach efforts are reflected in the Archive's prominent place in many NLS publications and events, a dedicated exhibit space, education programs, public talks, and an endowment dedicated to funding the archive's preservation and curation.¹⁰⁰ The democratisation of the John Murray Archive has resulted in the use of museum objects and multimedia surrogates to communicate the collection's significance to a wider public.

⁹⁸ Steedman (2001), p. 45.

⁹⁹ Cook (2013), p. 101.

¹⁰⁰ Bond (2008).

The NLS chose to approach outreach in part by recreating the privileged space of 50 Albemarle Street in a long-term exhibit.¹⁰¹ The room showcased objects, clothing, and images in addition to the writings of Murray authors, and included a replica of the Albemarle Street fireplace where Byron's papers were burned.¹⁰² The exhibit was a tacit acknowledgement that the physical setting of the Murray documents has an impact on how they are interpreted, and that the personal nature of many of the items is diminished when contextualised in a public reading room. This incarnation of Albemarle Street, however, was spatially and intellectually dissociated from the content of the archive. To provide visual interest and historical context, many articles of clothing and other objects without Murray provenance were exhibited. The actual content of the archive includes none of these "museum pieces": it is limited to paper records, which are just as informative, but far less accessible, to the general public.

Access to an archival collection is fundamentally a function of its cataloguing, written or otherwise.¹⁰³ The John Murray Archive is generally well documented, but incomplete and inconsistent cataloguing is a common reality among such large and complex collections. Permission to physically browse the John Murray Archive would be difficult to obtain; only a tiny fraction of readers ever make their way into the NLS's secure storage areas, where bundles of letters and bound volumes have all been rehoused in standard grey acid-free folders and boxes, identified by numbers rather than names for ease of identification. The NLS is in

¹⁰¹ The exhibit, described as permanent at its opening in 2007, closed in March 2017.

¹⁰² Scottish Government Press Release (2007).

¹⁰³ E. Yale, "The Book and the Archive in the History of Science", *Isis* 107:1(2016) 106–115.

some ways an even more private space than that of 50 Albemarle Street. These storage facilities mean that the JMA has lost some of its serendipity — the “mad fragmentations that no one intended to preserve and that just ended up there”.¹⁰⁴ Certainly, the contents of a letter or a ledger may surprise, but the contents of an archive box are, at least in principle, known and listed.

The gradual accumulation of archival records, changing generational business practices, and addition of the personal papers of a number of Murray authors to the JMA have resulted in a number of idiosyncrasies. Most of these, fortunately, are minor annoyances rather than major barriers to research access. Though the John Murray Archive is well described in internal NLS systems, its user-facing online catalogue is not yet complete and can be misleading. Researchers accustomed to accessing material digitally may assume that there is no need to inquire about material that may not be listed online. The online catalogue provided by the NLS claims to contain “brief descriptions of all the bound volumes and files of loose papers” present in the archive.¹⁰⁵ The public-facing catalogue, however, offers significantly fewer options for searching and sorting than internal recordkeeping tools available to the archive’s curators. For example, a search for “ledger” in the JMA online catalogue returns 81 items, mostly ledger books for the firms of Smith Elder and Charles Elliot. The archive actually includes dozens of publications ledgers, sales ledgers, copies ledgers, and other volumes of records. Cataloguing is

¹⁰⁴ C. Steedman, “The Space of Memory: In an Archive”, *History of the Human Sciences* 11:4(1998) 65–83. p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ National Library of Scotland, *John Murray Archive Website* (10 September 2013).

ongoing, but these listings are currently only available from the archive's curator.¹⁰⁶

This mismatch between the stated options for access to archival material and the actual availability of that material puts researchers who do not initiate direct contact with the archive's curators at a disadvantage.

The Murray family were the original archons of the JMA, guarding and interpreting the collections for their own use and for the benefit of a closely controlled group of friends and authors. Today, NLS archivists must provide access not only to trained historians and literary scholars, but to a broad range of users, many of whom have never heard of John Murray before viewing an exhibit. Ketelaar (2001) characterises archivists as boundary keepers, an apt description for NLS curators who must provide access to a large number of users while ensuring the security and preservation of a limited number of original documents.¹⁰⁷ Osborne suggests that the very existence of an archive implies an obligation for its use: "The archive is like a raw material, which is not the same as saying that it is an originary material or an unworked-upon material; rather it is what has been made available, what has been thus presented to us, a kind of gift, which is to say also — for future constituencies, future publics — a kind of debt".¹⁰⁸ In the case of the JMA, the debt is literal as well as ideological. The unprecedented use of public funding to purchase the JMA has created a national obligation to justify its acquisition and impart

¹⁰⁶ D. McClay, *Peale Guide to the John Murray Archive [Personal Correspondence]* (2013).

¹⁰⁷ E. Ketelaar, "Tacit Narratives: The Meaning of Archives", *Archival Science* 1(2001) 131–141. See also M. Lynch, "Archives in Formation", *History of the Human Sciences* 12:2(1999) 65–87.

¹⁰⁸ Osborne (1999), p. 57.

meaning to a larger community, beyond the privileged group of historians who were previously the main users of the archive.

The move of the John Murray Archive from its historic location at 50 Albemarle Street in London to the NLS was both a literal and a figurative move of the material from private to public space. Osborne (1999) suggests that a historian must have virtuosic command not only of archives but of literature, with “fine, aesthetic sensibility, bringing forth this hitherto unseen world of the everyday, the extraordinary, the ordinary beyond politics and theory”.¹⁰⁹ The move of the JMA archive means that the hitherto unseen may potentially be made visible; the responsibility for communicating those revelations lies as much with the archive’s curators as it does with its users. Digitisation projects, exhibitions, and other forms of public outreach help ensure that public investment in the archive is justified by its benefit to a wide range of non-traditional library users. For the foreseeable future, however, the transition from privileged access to more open availability of the archive’s physical content will remain mediated.

Prior Studies Based in the John Murray Archive

Several authors have studied earlier generations of the Murray dynasty. Zachs (1998) examines the complete production of one individual, John Murray I, over the course of his career.¹¹⁰ This depth of research into publishing history is impossible for most businesses simply because the relevant documents have not survived, though

¹⁰⁹ Osborne (1999), p. 62.

¹¹⁰ W. Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Finkelstein's work on the house of Blackwood is a notable exception.¹¹¹ Zachs draws upon the unusually rich records and correspondence provided by the publisher's archive (at the time of his research still in private hands), producing a history of Murray's personal life, a well-contextualised study of his business practices, and a thorough checklist of his publications. The checklist is an exercise in traditional bibliography, but provides an example of how empirical work can be combined with a more historically focused approach to provide a fuller view of a publisher's impact. Zachs writes of the first John Murray: "the agreements that Murray negotiated with authors and other traders, the ways he produced and marketed his publications and the places at which he sold his books... explain something about the transmission of literary taste, scientific knowledge and political and philosophical ideas".¹¹² The point holds true for the second and the third John Murray as much as for the first.

Biographical work has historically been a focus of research conducted in the John Murray Archive, both studies of Murray authors and occasionally of the Murrays themselves. Studies of publishing history tended, until the later twentieth century, to be "house histories", frequently described by modern scholars as "potted" narratives determined to acknowledge the contributions of a single business in a positive light. With the notable exception of Zachs (1998), biographers of the various John Murrays have been too intimately associated with the family to provide unbiased accounts of their subjects. Such treatment is difficult to avoid when records are still in the hands of an active business. Smiles (1891) provides a history of the house until 1843, concentrating on the accomplishments of John Murray II. His

¹¹¹ D. Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

¹¹² Zachs (1998), p. 4.

traditional nineteenth-century style emphasises the reprinting of letters and other documents, but at the expense of substantial commentary.¹¹³ Carpenter (2008) conducted his research while the archive was still in the possession of the Murray family.¹¹⁴ His multigenerational history is targeted at a popular audience, with the result that high-spot authors and large personalities are emphasised over less prominent authors and technical detail. While Zachs' 1998 study has provided a comprehensive scholarly biography of the first John Murray, no such work exists for John Murray III. John Murray IV's 1920 biography of his father is unhelpfully brief; while it provides a useful starting point for understanding Murray III's background and biography, it is neither an unbiased nor a comprehensive account.¹¹⁵ The house history of the John Murray III era compiled by George Paston (a pseudonym of Emily Symonds) draws heavily on archival sources and quotes extensively from the correspondence, but offers little in the way of critical commentary. It is useful, however, as a guide to some of Murray's best-known authors and publications of the later nineteenth century.¹¹⁶

The literature of travel and exploration was an increasingly important part of John Murray II's business during the first several decades of the nineteenth century. At the end of the Napoleonic wars, the British Admiralty was left with a surplus of men and ships, some of which were sent across the world on voyages of discovery and exploration. When the explorers returned, it was often John Murray who

¹¹³ S. Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends : Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray, with an Account of the Origin and Progress of the House, 1768–1843* (London: John Murray, 1891).

¹¹⁴ Carpenter (2008).

¹¹⁵ J. Murray, IV, *John Murray III, 1808–1892: A Brief Memoir* (New York: Knopf, 1920).

¹¹⁶ Paston (1932).

oversaw the translation of their logbooks and journals into polished accounts suitable for publication. Murray was appointed official Publisher to the Admiralty in 1813, a position that ensured a steady stream of explorers' journals and expedition reports passed through Murray's offices at 50 Albemarle Street in London. Withers and Keighren (2011) consider the publishing of travel narratives by John Murray during the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries, focusing particularly on the process of editorial redaction applied to manuscripts submitted for publication. Editing, they suggest, "was an often hidden and occult process", exercised to shape a raw narrative into a product which could convey appropriate and credible authority to its intended audiences.¹¹⁷ The extent of this mediation thus only becomes clear when archival records are examined for evidence of correspondence between authors, editors, and publishers.

While the archive was in the care of the Murray family, no publicly accessible catalogue was readily available. Researchers generally approached the collection with an interest in a particular author's works or biography. Studies of Murray's best-known travel authors of the later nineteenth century, most notably David Livingstone, made excellent use of the archive's depth.¹¹⁸ However, until the archive passed into public hands, few longitudinal studies of Murray's travel publications were undertaken.

The polar narratives published by John Murray II have received sustained attention from Janice Cavell, who has frequently considered issues of authorship and

¹¹⁷ C.W.J. Withers and I. Keighren, "Travels into Print: Authoring, Editing, and Narratives of Travel and Exploration, c. 1815–1857", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36(2011) 560–573. p. 565.

¹¹⁸ O. Ransford, *David Livingstone: The Dark Interior* (London: J. Murray, 1978).

credibility; her monograph *Tracing the Connected Narrative* (2008) makes innovative use of periodical literature and ephemera as a source for the study of reception and readership.¹¹⁹ Cavell demonstrates that newspapers, serials, and ephemera are a worthwhile area of study, both in their own right and as another perspective on book publication, though they are often ignored due to issues of poor cataloguing, high volume, and difficult access. For this research, Cavell draws on sources primarily from outside the John Murray Archive, since though her subjects are Murray publications, the publisher did not systematically preserve reviews or other records of his books' reception.

Keighren, Withers, and Bell (2015) study the authorship, editing, and publication of travel literature by John Murray I and II.¹²⁰ Their work considers epistolarity, epistemology, and editing in order to understand how travelling authors brought their narratives into print.¹²¹ This thesis is the first to survey Murray's travel publications in the second half of the nineteenth century. My work directly follows that of Keighren, Withers, and Bell (2015), although my concern is more strongly with the role of the publisher in shaping the book as a physical object, as well as a narrative. A holistic study of how John Murray III guided authors, editors, and readers during the production of travel books in the later nineteenth century will provide a timely addition to existing scholarship.

¹¹⁹ Cavell (2008); Cavell (2013).

¹²⁰ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

¹²¹ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

Archival Sources and Methods

When studying a body of work through its publishing history, it is not enough to know that a book was written, printed, or published. Authorial and editorial correspondence, production costs, and sales figures are all critical to understanding both how the travel books Murray published came into being, and to whom they would have been accessible. The methodology of archival research is challenging to characterise, since the origin, organisation, structure, and content of each group of documents is unique. The records of publishing houses, authors, printers, illustrators, binders, booksellers, and other members of the trade are widely distributed and often do not survive in institutional collections. For this reason, studies of printing and publishing practices which examine the records of several different publishing houses are rare.¹²² Furthermore, where records do survive, they are often fragmented, frequently preserving only select correspondence or a few ledger books. The John Murray Archive is exceptional in that it represents a nearly complete record of the totality of the publisher's activities. The cycle of publishing, from receipt of a manuscript, to initial reading, editing, selection and production of maps and illustration, printing, advertising, and sales, can thus be traced in detail.

The John Murray Archive is organised into eight record series, including manuscripts and authors' correspondence, incoming correspondence, business and legal papers, and Murray family papers.¹²³ The NLS also holds copies of most of the more than 130 narratives of travel and exploration that Murray published during this period. These volumes, though not officially part of the John Murray Archive, are

¹²² See Altick (1957). and St Clair (2007). for exceptions to this rule.

¹²³ National Library of Scotland (10 September 2013).

helpful in studying the paratextual elements of Murray's publications and in understanding the edition history of the works.

Murray's copies ledgers are the main accounting of his business and a key source for this research. The ledgers itemise costs for editing, illustration, printing, and advertising. They also provide limited information about sales, pricing, and profits, since these figures were initially calculated in separate ledgers and later transferred to the copies ledgers. Murray's other ledgers, including estimate books, stock books, copies day books, cash books, sales subscription lists, and sales ledgers, provide a more complete picture of the publisher's financial transactions, though not all were consistently kept through the later nineteenth century.

Outgoing correspondence letter books, which contain transcribed copies of letters sent to authors and other members of the book trade and literary community, are valuable sources for understanding how the publisher communicated with authors. These letter books provide only one side of a conversation, however, and Murray chose to record perhaps fewer than one in ten letters he sent. The surviving material tends to document the acceptance of manuscripts for publication, agreements about payment and profit-sharing terms, and interactions with particularly demanding or troublesome authors.

Murray's incoming correspondence files are much more extensive, preserving many or most letters from authors and their associates, as well as members of the Murray family. These are organised alphabetically by correspondent; the volume of correspondence varies widely, and it is difficult to determine what fraction of relevant material may not have survived. Some authors' files preserve dozens of letters which provide detailed insight into their professional, and

occasionally personal, associations with Murray. More often, however, the extant correspondence is fragmentary. Authors often write to the publisher that they intend to call in person at his offices at 50 Albemarle Street, a practical choice for London residents and visitors, but a frustrating outcome for a twenty-first-century researcher. Some relevant correspondence is also held in the archives of other institutions, most notably the Royal Geographical Society in London. The RGS supported many of the explorers whose works Murray published, and Murray was also official publisher to the Society during the period of this study.

Another challenge of the archive is that correspondence and ledgers rarely distinguish between John Murray as an individual and as a business. The role of various family members waxes and wanes through the thirty-three years of this study. While correspondence occasionally identifies John Murray III, John Murray IV, John IV's brother Hallam Murray, or Murray III's cousin Robert Cooke as having responsibility for some aspect of a new publication, it is much more common for letters to be addressed simply "Dear Sir", or "Dear Murray". As a result, I have chosen to refer to the publisher simply as "Murray", except where correspondence indicates a particular family member.

Understanding what has been excluded from an archive is essential to working in its collections.¹²⁴ Because there is no documentation of what, specifically, the publisher chose to preserve and what to discard, the extent of Murray's conscious editing of the archival record is unknowable; potentially controversial correspondence may have been expurgated from the publisher's records. Notably, few letters survive from printers, binders, and illustrators, suggesting that Murray

¹²⁴ Steedman (2001).

may have had many conversations in person, or considered notes from these members of the book trade as ephemeral and not worth recording for posterity. Furthermore, while the John Murray Archive preserves a large fraction of the publisher's correspondence with authors, it does not include printers' proofs or original manuscripts. This omission is disappointing in the context of modern scholarly concern with authorial intention and editing, but it was an entirely practical decision for Murray's business. Proofs and manuscripts occupied a great deal of storage space, and once an author's manuscript had been set up in type, they were effectively obsolete — all further corrections would be based upon the printed text. Neither authors nor publisher generally had an interest in retaining the material.¹²⁵ A consideration of the process of correcting and printing manuscripts, then, must be based in fragmentary accounts from Murray's correspondence and financial records.

In combination, these archival sources permit the investigation of what books John Murray III was publishing, what he declined to publish, and what he had to say to authors, editors, and others about those works and the process of bringing them into print. An initial search for titles relevant to my study, compiled using COPAC and the Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue, as well as Murray's manuscript publications ledger in the National Library of Scotland, produced a list of more than 200 works. The list became the basis of a spreadsheet which aggregates a broad range of information about the books' publication; ultimately, I have narrowed the focus of this research to concentrate specifically on 138 first-person narratives of

¹²⁵ A.C. Dooley, *Author and Printer in Victorian England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992). p. 19. See, for example, a letter of Henry Fanshawe Tozer to John Murray, December 5, 1868: "I send you today as a parcel by GWR my MS, the revision of which I have completed, so that I shall not require it to be returned" NLS Ms 41200.

travel published by John Murray between 1860 and 1892. Collecting this information into a searchable and sortable resource allows for quantitative as well as qualitative conclusions about editorship, print runs, illustrators, regions addressed, sale price, physical size and format, and other concerns; the data have been analysed and condensed into tables and figures in the text and appendices. This empirical approach has exposed trends in Murray's publishing habits and has suggested further avenues of enquiry into correspondence between Murray, his authors, and his editors, and into the printed books themselves. The John Murray Archive records the mundane as well as the exceptional. That such an extensive record of every aspect of a publishing house has survived, and is so readily accessible for research, is crucial to the success of, and the conception of this thesis.

Chapter 3

Selecting Travellers for Print

All travellers, whether part of scientific expeditions, military campaigns, missionary efforts, or commercial ventures, returned home (if they did return) with a potentially profitable commodity — the account of their journeys. By definition, an author was an authority on the subject of his or her own travels. What varied greatly, however, was how well an author could communicate that authority, incorporate additional material beyond the scope of his or her own experience, and translate the whole of that knowledge into an entertaining and profitable narrative. Murray and his competitors operated as a critical link between authors and readers; popularity and public credibility were closely linked to the means by which travellers shared their experience with a wider audience. In order to establish geographical credibility and receive public acclaim, authors needed to communicate in a style and format that would interest not just the reading public, but first, a publisher.

Murray's archived correspondence and ledgers allow for an examination of the publisher's motivations for selecting, and declining, manuscripts of travel and exploration. The opportunity to consider not only published books, but rejected ones, offers insight into the role of the publisher in curating the production of geographical knowledge during the later nineteenth century. This chapter examines Murray's insistence on novelty in the books he accepted for publication and evaluates the influence of the publisher's readers on Murray's assessment of submitted manuscripts. It also considers the publisher's rationale for declining many of the manuscripts which were submitted to him for publication, and the ways in which

narratives by female travellers were particularly susceptible to rejection. Finally, it assesses the importance of profitability on Murray's decision to accept a new book of travels, taking as a case study the unusually lengthy dialogue between author and publisher about Paul Du Chaillu's *The Land of the Midnight Sun* (1881).¹²⁶

Judgments of quality and legitimacy in travel writing were made by publishers like John Murray well before geographical information reached the public. Numerous works have considered travel writing and its enactment both in the field and after-the-fact, as well as the process of editorial mediation during publication — the transformation from raw, often unsophisticated manuscript into published form.¹²⁷ What has been less frequently considered, however, is the process by which explorers and travellers encountered and negotiated with their prospective publishers, and what considerations publishers made in accepting or rejecting their manuscripts.

The popularity of travel increased dramatically in the nineteenth century, as did the number of books published in Britain. Four times as many books were published in Britain in 1916 as there had been in 1846, while the average price of a book had halved.¹²⁸ However, the market for works of history, geography, and travel stagnated in the middle of the nineteenth century and only recovered in its final decades.¹²⁹ During this period, publishers competed to bring out financially viable

¹²⁶ P.B. Du Chaillu, *The Land of the Midnight Sun: Summer and Winter Journeys through Sweden Norway, Lapland, and Northern Finland* (London: John Murray, 1881).

¹²⁷ This list is potentially extensive. Key works in the field include: Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015); Withers and Keighren (2011); Cavell (2008); Cavell (2013); Craciun (2013); Driver (2004); MacLaren (2011).

¹²⁸ Raven (2007), p. 324.

¹²⁹ Fraser (1996), p. 10; Raven (2007), p. 337.

narratives in a congested market. Writing in 1867, John Murray complained: “At present we are overwhelmed with too many new books and it is impossible to predict what will succeed”.¹³⁰ Though a publisher could not be certain of a book’s success, he could accept only those manuscripts he thought most likely to sell well: in the later nineteenth century, Murray agreed to publish fewer than a quarter of the travel narratives he was offered.

In selecting books for publication, Murray made decisions about the legitimacy and quality of individual submissions, but also served as an arbiter of public taste. Zachs (1998) suggests that by “deciding what books he will produce, [a publisher] to some extent determines the fate of ideas”.¹³¹ The works of travel and exploration John Murray III accepted for publication ranged from scientific accounts of naturalist expeditions to rambling narratives of trips taken exclusively for personal pleasure. Murray’s correspondence gives little note to these generic distinctions, however — or to questions of authorial credibility. Instead, the correspondence demonstrates a primary interest in the novelty and marketability of the manuscripts the publisher was offered. Murray consistently wrote to his authors that a work of travel must not only be well-authored and entertaining, but that it (and they) should introduce some novel element in order to attract the attention of readers. This concern was echoed by the readers employed to evaluate manuscripts submitted to the publisher, and in the letters of polite rejection Murray sent to the many authors whose works he declined to publish. The terms that Murray offered for works he did accept were predicated on the necessarily interlinked concerns of profitability and

¹³⁰ NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to D. Mourier, June 26, 1867.

¹³¹ Zachs (1998), p. 4.

prestige. Despite, and arguably as a result of, terms that guaranteed authors no payment unless their book was profitable, publication by Murray remained an aspiration for many travellers wishing to bring out accounts of their journeys.

Novelty and Nonfiction

As more travellers ventured outside Europe, the market for accounts of their journeys became increasingly congested. In 1875, Murray wrote to one author: “Books of Travels... are so common and abundant that the public are well nigh tired of them”.¹³² Murray’s authors operated along a continuum, from scientific and professional to popular and leisure travellers. Felix Driver has called for increased attention to the “unsettled frontier” between these extremes, noting that: “the business of the scientific explorer was not always, or easily, distinguished from that of the literary flaneur, the missionary, the trader or the imperial pioneer”.¹³³ Murray consistently encouraged his authors to blend serious content with accounts of entertaining events, whatever their qualifications or lack thereof. Works which distinguished themselves too clearly, veering too far towards either end of that spectrum, risked losing the interest of Murray’s target audience: readers educated enough to appreciate the value of erudite scientific or historical material (and pay a premium for it), even if not able to fully comprehend it.

Authors also had to maintain a careful balance between presenting new discoveries and telling a story so novel as to be incredible. A book lacking in originality would likely be a financial and literary failure, but an overtly

¹³² NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to Thomas P. Bigg-Wither, October 13, 1875.

¹³³ Driver (2001), p. 1–2; Driver (2004), p. 75.

sensationalised account could discredit both author and publisher. The process by which travellers established their credibility has been thoroughly explored.¹³⁴

Withers and Keighren (2011, 2015) have considered truth claims with respect to the publications of John Murray I and II. Mandelstam (1994) describes how John Murray III was drawn into the controversy over Paul Du Chaillu's sensational description of gorillas, while Fraser (1996) has drawn attention to Murray's refusal of Herman Melville's *Mardi* on the grounds that it was too obviously a fiction.¹³⁵ At the point of first appraisal, however, Murray's primary concern seems to have been not with credibility, but with novelty.

The need to balance serious content with novel material was a longstanding issue in travel writing.¹³⁶ Batten (1978) argues that by the end of the eighteenth century, the genre of travel writing was moving away from any attempt at instruction: "After exhausting useful subjects, the demand for novelty at least in part drove the traveller to describe merely entertaining matters, ultimately changing the fundamental characteristics of [the] genre...".¹³⁷ Pratt (2008) cites an 1828 review complaining that the supply of travel literature was clogged with figures from "the inexperienced novice", [and] "the superficial coxcomb", [to] "the romantic female,

¹³⁴ See, for example, Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015); Withers and Keighren (2011); Z.R.W.M.v. Martels, *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994); Adams (1962); Carey (1996); Fulford, Lee and Kitson (2004).

¹³⁵ J. Mandelstam, "Du Chaillu's Stuffed Gorillas and the Savants from the British Museum", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 48:2(1994) 227–245; Fraser (1996), p. 30. See also S. McCook, "'It May Be Truth, but It Is Not Evidence': Paul Du Chaillu and the Legitimation of Evidence in the Field Sciences", *Osiris* 11(1996) 177–197; Driver (2004).

¹³⁶ See Driver (2004); Driver (2001); I. Keighren and C.W.J. Withers, "The Spectacular and the Sacred: Narrating Landscape in Works of Travel", *Cultural Geographies* 19(2012) 10–29. p. 18.

¹³⁷ Batten (1978), p. 110.

whose eyes are confined to some half dozen drawing rooms and who sees everything through the medium of poetical fiction”.¹³⁸ The house of Murray prided itself on avoiding these sorts of insubstantial books, and certainly would have disagreed with Batten’s assessment of the field. Nevertheless, Britain’s knowledge of the world was changing rapidly, and so was the nature of travel itself. By mid-century, “large, often Admiralty-sponsored voyages of science and territorial investigation gave way to increasingly individual and touristic travel”.¹³⁹ By the final decades of the nineteenth century, many of the “blank spaces” which had captivated the imagination of previous generations had been explored.¹⁴⁰ Keighren, Withers, and Bell (2015) identify credibility as a critical concern for Murray in publishing books of travel during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁴¹ Notably, in this later period, Murray appears far more concerned with providing novel content for his readers. Fewer gaps in geographical knowledge left less room for falsification or embellishment, at least on a publicly verifiable level.¹⁴²

The commodification and contingent devaluation of travel was a major concern for Murray in the second half of the nineteenth century. With fewer places unknown to the British public, and as new technology increased the ease and speed of travel, simple narrative could not guarantee a saleable work. Writing about the perceived value of tourist travel, Mackintosh (2012) argues: “The market forces that made travel easily accessible could also decrease its value, because travel that had

¹³⁸ Pratt (2008), p. 167.

¹³⁹ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ Adams (1962), p. 7.

¹⁴¹ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

¹⁴² The experience of Paul Du Chaillu, however, indicates that automatic credibility was not universal in this era.

been commodified for the easy consumption of passengers and tourists could also be passive and superficial, and as a result it was perhaps not worth the benefits it offered in speed, cost, comfort, and simplicity”.¹⁴³ This claim is also relevant to the literary market: a journey undertaken purely for tourist purposes provided too much comfort and predictability to be of interest to Murray’s readers.

In such a competitive market, the act of travel in itself was no longer a novelty to the reading public. Novelty, for Murray, was a fluid term which referred most often to a traveller’s destination, but could also incorporate his or her mode of transport, particular social position, or specialist knowledge. The location of an author’s travels was a critical factor in establishing novelty in a manuscript, but by no means a guarantee of it. When J.B. Simpson proposed a book of travels in Spain, Murray replied: “...we have so many books on that and other countries that I am very doubtful of its succeeding to pay its expenses”.¹⁴⁴ Murray was particularly wary of publishing books about regions described in his Handbook series, particularly continental Europe. The dramatic increase in the number of British travellers to the Continent meant that while Murray consistently expanded the range of his Handbooks for Travellers, he was wary of a flooded market for first-hand travellers’ accounts.¹⁴⁵ It was, Murray claimed, difficult for a narrative of European travel to incorporate much in the way of novelty.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ W. Mackintosh, “‘Ticketed Through’: The Commodification of Travel in the Nineteenth Century”, *Journal of the Early Republic* 32:1(2012) 61–89. p. 89.

¹⁴⁴ NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to J.B. Simpson, August 10, 1867.

¹⁴⁵ Goodwin and Johnston (2013), p. 103.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, Murray’s correspondence with John MacGregor cited later in this chapter.

Neither did a destination beyond Europe guarantee the public's interest. In 1875, Murray wrote to Thomas Bigg-Wither, who had offered the publisher a manuscript which would become *Pioneering in South Brazil: Three years of Forest and Prairie Life in the Province of Parana* (1878), that: "...a fresh candidate's only chance of success is in new Materials and an original mode of treatment. If you think you can attain to these requirements by all means try your hand, but I could not promise to publish until I have seen what you can produce, far less make you a pecuniary proposal offhand".¹⁴⁷ In accepting Captain Thomas Blakiston's *Five Months on the Yang-Tse*, Murray wrote:

I have carefully examined your M.S. narrative of your Expedition up the Yang Tse & think it is [of] interest and well written. I must warn you that the great number of works recently published on China and the fact of large part of your narrative having been in a China paper tend to render the success of its publication doubtful. Still I am willing to undertake it at my own sole cost and risque and to give you one half of the profits of every Edition, should it succeed and more than one be called for. I would propose to insert a few of the most striking of Dr. Barton's interesting Sketches — having novelty to help the book.¹⁴⁸

Blakiston's journey was of unquestionable geographical interest: later the same year, the army officer's survey of the river from Han Kow (Hangzhou) to Ping Shan (Pingshan) earned him the Patron's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society.¹⁴⁹

However, the book was only a limited financial success: the cost of 23 illustrations and two folding maps, and competing reports of the expedition published in China as

¹⁴⁷ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to Thomas Bigg-Wither, October 13, 1875.

¹⁴⁸ NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to Thomas Blakiston, April 12, 1862.

¹⁴⁹ H.E.D. Blakiston and C. Schmitz, "Blakiston, Thomas Wright (1832–1891)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

well as by the Royal Geographical Society, led to mediocre sales.¹⁵⁰ Author and publisher ultimately earned just over £8 each on the endeavour.¹⁵¹

Murray's correspondents were often well aware of the challenges they faced to produce a successful narrative. The brother of one aspiring author wrote: "Do not let him rush into publication unless you really think that what he has written is worth it. I always think well meaning but illiterate people do themselves so much harm by giving to the Public what the Public do not care to have".¹⁵² Even established authors acknowledged Murray's concerns that the public might grow tired of hearing from the same author again and again. Emilius Albert de Cosson, who had published *The Cradle of the Blue Nile: A Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia* with Murray in 1877, responded with good humour to Murray's apprehensions: "[I] am sorry you think the public are tired of hearing so much about Capt. de Cosson, however I can promise that he won't trouble them any more as in the future they will only hear of Major de Cosson, who I hope is not quite done with them yet".¹⁵³

In some cases, however, authors were entirely misguided in their view of what would make a successful book. Many authors were deferential with Murray when proposing the arrangements for their books, presuming that the publisher would make major decisions about technical production. Samuel Mossman, however, applied to Murray for publication with both a complete manuscript and a clear idea

¹⁵⁰ T.W. Blakiston, *Five Months on the Yang-Tse* (London: John Murray, 1862); H.A. Sarel, "Expedition up the Yang-Tse-Kiang", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 6:1(1862); A. Barton, "On the Exploring Expedition to the Western Borders of China, and the Upper Waters of the Yang-Tse-Kiang", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 6:3(1862).

¹⁵¹ Blakiston (1862). NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 224.

¹⁵² NLS Ms 40800, Herbert George Philip Meade to John Murray, October 13, 1867.

¹⁵³ NLS Ms 40279, Emilius Albert De Cosson to John Murray, October 14, 1885.

about how he wished to see it brought out. Already a published author with two books about Australia, Mossman had experience as an editor in the newspaper industry and was certain of what he wanted for his manuscript.¹⁵⁴ Despite the author's evident experience, however, Mossman's letter also makes obvious several of the flaws that must have caused Murray to reject the manuscript:

On the 11th inst. I left a M.S. at your office in Albemarle Street, entitled "A Railway Tour through Austria via Belgium," requesting an early perusal of it, and an answer at your earliest convenience... I beg to premise a few words. If there is any part of the composition, rather tame, [illegible] or objectionable, which may require correction, addition or softening, I shall carefully go over the same before going to press... In the M.S. you will find a few impressions of excellent engravings... These are from the Imperial Gazetteer, printed and published by Messrs. Blackie and Son of Glasgow. When it occurred to me that my sketchy narration of my journey would be more likely to sell if it was illustrated, I applied to these gentlemen (with whom I have been in communication for some time as a contributor of geographical, and botanical information for their class publications) for these impressions, and have marked out several others in their gazetteer, equally appropriate, which probably they would be inclined to embody in such a volume, if consistent with yours and their rules of business. They as printers and you as a publisher. With this suggestion, I annexe a list of the plans and views that would suit... I need scarcely point out that by this means an illustrated work could be got up at much less expense than usual.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ S. Mossman, *The Gold Regions of Australia: A Descriptive Account of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia: With Particulars of the Recent Gold Discoveries* (London: William S. Orr, 1852); S. Mossman, *Australia Visited and Revisited. A Narrative of Recent Travels and Old Experiences in Victoria and New South Wales*. (London: Addey, 1853).

¹⁵⁵ NLS Ms 40852, Samuel Mossman to John Murray, July 2, 1855.

Mossman had entirely misjudged the sort of book Murray would be likely to publish. His journey, via a railway route that would be accessible to any British tourist, lacked novelty of location or means of travel: by 1855, travellers made 111 million rail journeys per year in Britain alone.¹⁵⁶ Mossman might more appropriately have offered a contribution to Murray's *Handbook for Southern Germany*, which at the time of Mossman's letter was already in its sixth edition.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, though the management of cost was certainly a consideration, Mossman's proposed savings required the re-publication of existing illustrations with which the public would already be familiar. The proposed work clearly had little new material to offer Murray's readers, and Murray refused Mossman's offer.¹⁵⁸ Murray's insistence on novelty is consistent but unsurprising. If a manuscript possessed fundamental interest and quality, it could be edited and "got up" to produce an attractive publication, but a book lacking in novelty would damage the reputation and finances of both author and publisher. The following section will explore how Murray assessed these characteristics in manuscripts submitted for publication.

A Publisher's Readers

When the Murrays selected manuscripts for publication, who was responsible for those decisions? John Murray III had a lifelong interest in travel, having founded the

¹⁵⁶ B.R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p. 546.

¹⁵⁷ *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany; Being a Guide to Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria, Etc., the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, and the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea*, (London: John Murray, 1853).

¹⁵⁸ Mossman maintained correspondence with Murray over the next two decades. He published an article in the *Quarterly Review* in 1864, and finally convinced Murray to accept a work of history, *New Japan: Land of the Rising Sun*, for publication in 1873.

Handbooks as a young man, and was still venturing abroad as late as 1884, when a visit to Italy took in the Dolomites (covered by his own *Handbook*) and a stop in Venice to visit Sir Austen Henry and Lady Layard, successful authors and family friends.¹⁵⁹ John Murray III and later John Murray IV clearly read many manuscripts themselves. In 1879, the elder John wrote deferentially to Lady Anne Blunt, who had offered a book of travels among Bedouin tribes:

I am very sorry to have been away from home when you and Mr. Blunt did me the favour to call at No 50, MS in hand. I believe however that the interests of the author have not suffered at the hands of my son, who received the work, and acted for me with such diligence, that from the Report he has sent me, I am already enabled to offer with pleasure and alacrity to publish the work for you. Without having read it myself I am induced to form a very favourable opinion both of its substantial interest, and of the simple style in which it is written. I shall be happy to take upon me the entire risque and cost of the publication".¹⁶⁰

But the Murrays did not always have time to consider each submission personally.

Writing to Edward James Reed, in 1879, Murray admitted:

Knowing how anxious you are for a speedy arrangement for the publication of your work on Japan and being much pressed by business engagements myself I have induced a literary friend in whose opinion I have great confidence to read the M.S. and report upon it. The result is that I consider it a very able work and shall be happy to publish it.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Murray (1920), p. 30. The Dolomites were included in Murray's *Handbook to Southern Germany*, whose first edition John III had written in 1837. See Lister, Murray and Murray (1993), p. x.

¹⁶⁰ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Lady Anne Blunt, August 22, 1878.

¹⁶¹ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Edward James Reed, October 2, 1879.

The Murrays regularly employed readers to report on submissions they lacked time, interest, or expertise to consider, a practice that was common to most large publishing businesses. These readers, despite having a considerable influence on the publisher's decisions about literary taste and quality, were practically invisible to the public, and their identities were frequently concealed from authors as well.¹⁶² Murray generally referred to his readers as a "literary friend" or "experienced author".¹⁶³ In fact, the literary experience and expertise of Murray's readers varied widely.

The longest-serving readers to Murray during the nineteenth century were the Milton family. Henry Milton had begun reading manuscripts for John Murray II in 1841. When Henry died in 1850, John Milton took over many of his father's responsibilities and encouraged Murray to pass some work to his brother, William. The Miltons had no special expertise in the field of travel literature: John was a clerk in the War Office and William a country curate.¹⁶⁴ Despite their lack of formal qualifications, however, the Miltons had a major impact on the Murray's decision-making process. Paid at a rate of 3s. 6d. or 4s. per hour, the Miltons usually invested between five and fifteen hours in evaluating whether a new manuscript should be accepted for publication.¹⁶⁵ This rate often resulted in as little as a pound payment

¹⁶² Fraser (1996), p. 11; L.M. Fritschner, "Publishers' Readers, Publishers, and Their Authors", *Publishing History* 7(1980) 45; Withers and Keighren (2011); R.A. Gettmann, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers* (Cambridge: University Press, 1960).

¹⁶³ Fraser (1996), p. 11. See, for example, NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to Captain Mayne, May 9, 1862; NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to Lady Eastlake, October 5, 1869.

¹⁶⁴ Fraser (1996), p. 16–17.

¹⁶⁵ This figure is based on correspondence between Murray and the Milton family in NLS Ms 408029. In 1863, the Rev. William Milton suggested payment of 3s. 6d. per hour for editorial work unrelated to travel and exploration books, and in December 1872 requested £25 for 125 hours (less fifteen minutes) of work, which would amount to 4s. per hour.

for reading a manuscript, with an average of about three pounds for Murray's travel works during the period. The Miltons had considerable influence, reading or revising at least 68 narratives of travel Murray published during the period 1860–1892.

Despite the extent of their interventions, however, they remained largely invisible to Murray's authors: Murray never mentions the Miltons by name in his surviving correspondence with later nineteenth-century travel authors.¹⁶⁶ Even Samuel Smiles, a close associate of Murray's, contributor to the *Quarterly Review*, and author of many Murray-published monographs, noted only that Milton "occasionally acted as literary adviser" to the publisher.¹⁶⁷ In fact, the Miltons were paid for work on almost half the travel books Murray published between 1860 and 1892.

While the scope of the Miltons' influence is clear, determining the depth of their interventions is difficult, as readers' reports to Murray are not preserved in the archive. Only a few of the Miltons' letters are included in Murray's correspondence files, and much of their business with Murray seems to have been conducted in person on periodical visits to Albemarle St.¹⁶⁸ Without surviving readers' reports, it is difficult to know what criteria the Miltons used to evaluate the manuscripts they read for Murray. As noted, John Milton had no particular expertise in the genre of travel literature beyond the substantial body of knowledge he had drawn from the many manuscripts he read for Murray. Evidence suggests, then, that Murray expected a report on a manuscript's style and potential interest, not its credibility, scientific or otherwise.

¹⁶⁶ See Murray's transcribed correspondence in Letter Books, NLS Ms 41913, 41914, 41915, and 41916.

¹⁶⁷ S. Smiles, *The Autobiography of Samuel Smiles, LL.D* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). p. 218.

¹⁶⁸ Fraser (1996), p. 18.

After John Milton's health failed in 1881, Murray's most frequently employed reader of travel narratives was Louis Jennings. Jennings was an established author who had published two books of English countryside walks with Murray, one of them illustrated by Hallam Murray.¹⁶⁹ He was also a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly Review*. A journalist who had edited the *New York Times* before returning to England, Jennings was objectively far more qualified than the Milton family to pass judgements on Murray's manuscripts.¹⁷⁰ His relationship with Murray as a reader, though, appears to have been much less formal than that of his predecessors. He was never received more than £1.15s. for any book he read, and his few surviving letters make no mention of compensation, in contrast to John Milton, who frequently earned £100 per year for his services reading manuscripts. While Milton read manuscripts professionally, Jennings seems to have done the work as a favour to Murray. The practice of consulting trusted authors and friends of the house was common to John Murray II, who frequently asked John Barrow, William Gifford, and others to pass judgement on manuscripts which suited their expertise.¹⁷¹

Like John Milton, Jennings lived in London and could discuss matters with Murray in person at Albemarle Street. One surviving letter from his first year as a reader for Murray gives some sense of Jennings' interests:

I enclose a report on the MS "World Wide Wanderings". With regard to the work "Mon Voyage", I do not think I need write a special memorandum upon it. According to the preface, this

¹⁶⁹ L.J. Jennings, *Field Paths and Green Lanes in Surrey and Sussex* (London: John Murray, 1877); L.J. Jennings, *Rambles among the Hills in the Peak of Derbyshire and the South Downs* (London: John Murray, 1880).

¹⁷⁰ Fraser (1996), p. 22; H.C.G. Matthew, "Jennings, Louis John (1836–1893)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2005).

¹⁷¹ Fraser (1996), p. 9.

volume is intended to be one of a series, some other which have perhaps been published since. It is not an interesting book, but I cannot think it would be worth translating, or repay the cost of publication. The author went, for the most part, over totally familiar ground, and I cannot see that she has anything very new to tell us. I shall call on Friday in Albemarle St., and can then talk over (if you have a few minutes to spare) one or two points in connection with the criticisms on the Trade article....¹⁷²

Jennings' comments about "lack of interest" and "familiar ground" echo Murray's own rhetoric. A few years later, Jennings raised a similar concern: "I enclose a report on the 'travels' in 'Enslaved Greece'. I had anticipated some pleasure from reading what I took to be a book of personal adventure and travel, but it is all padding — all 'sach' and no bread".¹⁷³ Jennings' service as a Murray reader was infrequent and relatively brief. Between 1881 and 1887, Jennings was paid for reading fewer than a dozen manuscripts of travels which Murray went on to publish. By 1887 Jennings had been elected to Parliament and was too busy to maintain his work for Murray. He was replaced by A.L. Roberts, but the influence of Murray's readers was fading: Roberts was paid for his work on only three travel manuscripts which Murray published between 1890 and 1892.¹⁷⁴

Murray's readers clearly influenced the publisher's judgements of taste and quality in the manuscripts of travel that were submitted to him. The frequency of their involvement is evident from Murray's ledgers: entries for 80 of 138 narratives

¹⁷² NLS Ms 40615, Louis John Jennings to John Murray, July 27, 1881.

¹⁷³ NLS Ms 40615, Louis John Jennings to John Murray, March 15, 1883.

¹⁷⁴ Fraser (1996). Roberts was paid £2.2s. for reading Villiers Stuart's *Adventures Amidst the Equatorial Forests and Rivers of South America* (Ms 42766 p. 77) and 12s. 6d. for Barkley's *A Ride through Asia Minor and Armenia* (Ms 42733 p. 284). He also received £4 for reading and correcting proofs of Du Chaillu's *Adventures in the Great Forest of Equatorial Africa* (NLS Ms 42733, p. 340).

of travel published between 1860 and 1892 record payments to readers. However, the lack of surviving readers' reports makes the extent to which Murray accepted their recommendations difficult to determine.

Prestige and Persistence

While Murray published a handful of new works of travel each year, he rejected many more. These rejections speak to questions of the legitimacy and novelty of geographical knowledge. Murray's correspondence gives glimpses of his frustrations with the submissions he received, and, very occasionally, the archive reveals a letter from an author who never successfully published with Murray. The most consistent sources recording Murray's rejections are his Manuscripts Books.¹⁷⁵

The Manuscripts Book covering the period September 1855 to October 1892 makes it possible to compare broader trends in Murray's publications, and to trace the history of individual titles, whether or not they were accepted by Murray. From 1860 to 1890, Murray recorded, on average, about 70 manuscripts per year in this ledger. About one in five of those were works of travel and exploration. Direct comparison of the Manuscripts Book to Murray's publications in a given year is impractical, since many of the manuscripts accepted in any given year might not be published until the following season, or even several years later. For example, Nathan Davis' *Ruined Cities* was accepted in the Manuscripts Book of 1860 as *Carthage and Her Remains*, but was not published until November 1862 — and then under a different title. Furthermore, the ledger contains a number of gaps: for

¹⁷⁵ NLS Ms 42632–42639. The Manuscripts Book relevant to my period of study, recording submissions from 1855 to 1892, is Ms 42634.

example, between 7 March and 3 May 1865, no submissions are recorded, a circumstance highly unlikely for an active publisher. Furthermore, many books which Murray certainly considered are not recorded in the ledger: those proposed in correspondence, without an accompanying sample of the manuscript, as well as any which were brought to Murray in person and accepted or rejected on the spot.

The Manuscripts Books frequently record rejections for which no other record or correspondence survives in the archive. The case of William Tallack's *Travels in Malta* demonstrates how much it is possible to learn from these orphan entries. A simple entry for October 15, 1860 notes that a manuscript by William Tallack titled "Three Months in Malta" was received at Albemarle Street. A further note indicates that the book was rejected and the manuscript returned to Tallack on the 6th of November.¹⁷⁶ [Figure 3.1] No correspondence survives between Tallack and Murray, and this entry does not, in itself, explain Murray's rationale for rejection.

The record does, however, make it possible to trace the fate of this manuscript and many others Murray declined. Based on a sample taken at five-year intervals from titles recorded in the Manuscripts Book, Murray's records suggest that the publisher accepted only about a quarter of the narratives of travel he was offered for publication. In counting the number of submissions per year, I omitted entries in which the second part of a title was recorded as a separate submission, articles clearly designated as submissions to the *Quarterly Review*, and miscellaneous letters, illustrations, and other supplementary material designed to contribute to a larger work. Of 478 sampled titles from the years 1860 to 1890, 99 are clearly identifiable

¹⁷⁶ NLS Ms 42634, 1860 n.p.

1860			
Aug 28	Bartholomew & her penance	Mr H. Davis by	collected by author
Sept 8	Review of his Discourse on the Christian	Dr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
x	Sept of G. H. Davis - sermon from the pulpit	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
	Researches in the study of the	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
26	Alphonsus a poem!!	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
Oct 2	Receipts for Cookery	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
6	Churchwarden's Handbook of Churchwardens	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
"	Chronological Catalogue of the	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
8	The Personal Book of the	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
9	Life of the	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
11	Journal in Africa 1840	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
15	Madison Africa - Chronological Catalogue	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
	Three Months in Malta	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
25	History of the	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
29	Epiphany - Sermon	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
34	Memoir of the late	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London
	History of the late	Mr H. Davis by	at the Bishop of Exeter's house in London

Figure 3.1

Page from Murray's Manuscripts Book, NLS Ms 42634, showing submission and return of a manuscript by William Tallack titled "Three Months in Malta".

Year	Total Manuscripts Listed	Travel Manuscripts Listed	Percent Travel Works	Number of Travel Works Accepted by Murray	Number of Travel Works Accepted by Other Publishers
1860	85	26	31%	4	12
1865	49	6	12%	1	2
1870	54	7	13%	2	1
1875	53	16	30%	5	5
1880	89	22	25%	6	9
1885	63	11	17%	3	3
1890	85	11	13%	3	2
Total	478	99	21%	24	34

Table 3.1: Manuscripts submitted to John Murray, as recorded in the publisher's Manuscripts Book for the period 1855–1892 (NLS Ms 42634).

as works of travel. Of those 99 travel manuscripts submitted for his attention, Murray accepted just 24 for publication.

Though Murray published only about one in four of the narratives of travel he was offered, other publishers would often accept manuscripts that Murray had declined. A search of published travel works corresponding with authors and titles in the Manuscripts Book indicates that nearly half of the works declined by Murray were later accepted by other publishers. This figure is perhaps an underestimate: entries in the Manuscripts Book are not always descriptive enough to make titles traceable. Despite Murray's rejection, Tallack persisted in his efforts to bring his manuscript to the public, and A.W. Bennett published Tallack's narrative in 1861 as *Malta Under the Phenicians, Knights, and English*. The work received a number of positive accolades, but its reception in the *Saturday Review* suggests that Murray's rejection was prudent:

We do not exactly see why Mr. Tallack should have written a book. At the same time, we always feel a considerable degree of tenderness towards a man who is simply dull, and who does not attempt either facetiousness or fine writing... This is the

origin of a large class of books. A man goes to a particular place, tries to get up its history, and puts the results of the two processes into a book. He probably does his best. To be sure, the best may be very bad; the book may contain a good many mistakes, and, at best, it will probably tell indifferently what has already been told well.¹⁷⁷

Murray had had the same impression of the manuscript, and the *Review* corroborates Murray's frequent claims to authors that the market for travel literature was flooded with mediocrity. This "large class of books" of travel, earnestly written, but dull, and lacking expertise and authority, was exactly what Murray did not want to publish.

The case of John MacGregor demonstrates that while Murray was a powerful gatekeeper of geographical publications, his judgement was not infallible.

MacGregor, a philanthropist and a European pioneer of travel by canoe, had proposed to Murray in October 1865 a book about his travels through the rivers and lakes of Germany and Switzerland. The archive does not record Murray's response, but given that *1000 Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe* was published in 1866 by Sampson Low, Murray seems to have declined MacGregor's proposal. Unlike Tallack's book, in which Murray could consider the manuscript before him, the publisher had no way of judging the literary quality of MacGregor's work. His reasons for declining MacGregor's offer, then, lay in the geographical nature of the canoeist's voyage. Although MacGregor's canoe was an unusual vehicle almost unknown in Britain at the time, the mundane European location of his travels helps explain Murray's

¹⁷⁷ "Tallack's Malta" in *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*. October 12, 1861, p. 387.

reasons for rejection.¹⁷⁸ But did Murray make a prudent choice? A smug letter from MacGregor to Murray just a few months later proves otherwise:

Perhaps you may recollect that last autumn I asked if you would publish a “Canoe Voyage” I meant to write but you declined in a courteous note on the ground that the subject was not sufficiently novel. I was a good deal disappointed by the reason given... I decided to go elsewhere as I could not find that any man had ever described a tour of this sort. After delay the Book came out “1000 miles in the Rob Roy Canoe” and I am sure that you will be pleased to hear that in this case an imperfect judgment was formed as to its public popularity for the 3rd edition (6th thousand) is selling well though the first was issued only 4 months ago and the Emperor Napoleon after reading the work has decreed a special exhibition of pleasure boats in 1867.¹⁷⁹

MacGregor’s letter makes clear that Murray had lost the chance to publish a profitable and prestigious book. Three years later, MacGregor returned to Murray with another proposal, this time for a book of canoe travels on the Jordan River. Murray accepted the manuscript, and the resultant book, *The Rob Roy on the Jordan*, went on to become one of the publisher’s biggest successes of the decade in the genre of travel and exploration literature. The work was reprinted six times before 1900 and sold more than 11,000 copies.¹⁸⁰ This was an enormous sale for Murray, whose travel books were usually printed in editions of 1250 or 1500 copies.¹⁸¹

Why, after having his first book rejected, did MacGregor return to Murray with another proposal? Profit was not his primary motivation: MacGregor was a

¹⁷⁸ C.A. Harris and E. Baigent, “Macgregor, John [Called Rob Roy] (1825–1892)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

¹⁷⁹ NLS Ms 40742, John MacGregor to John Murray, May 25, 1866.

¹⁸⁰ NLS Ms 42731 p. 17; NLS Ms 42732 p. 400; NLS Ms 42733 p. 153, 337.

¹⁸¹ See Figure 3.2

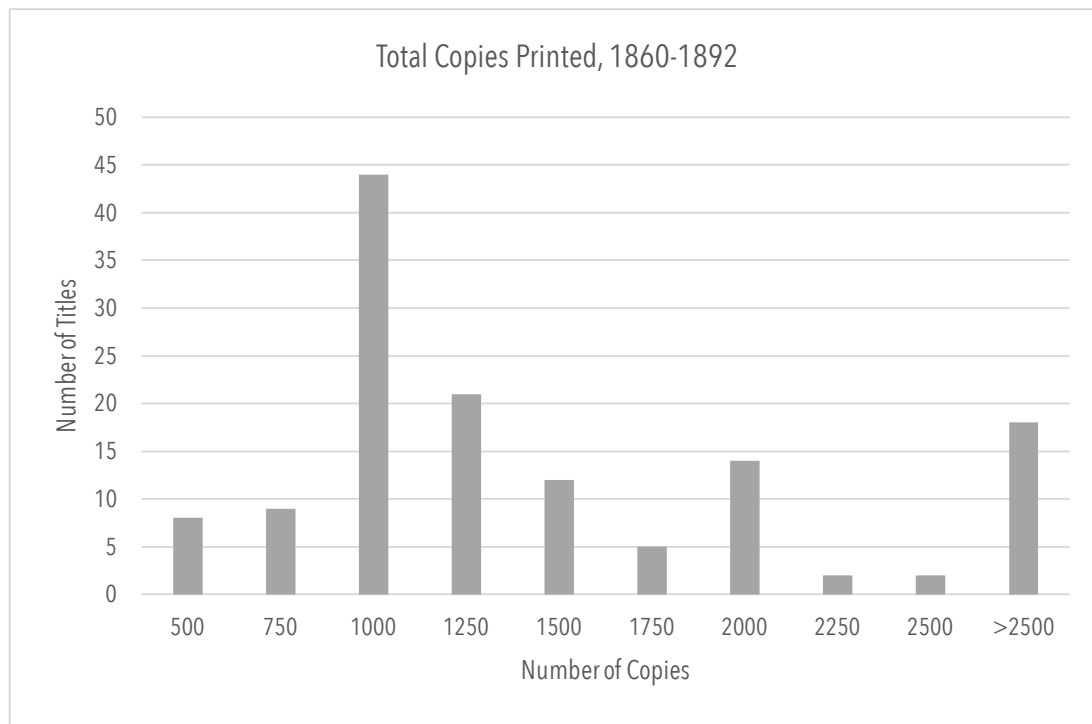


Figure 3.2: Total number of copies printed, in all editions, of narratives of travel published by John Murray between 1860 and 1892 (n=135). Many of the works printed in 500 or fewer copies are large format books with expensive illustrations.

philanthropist whose public lectures on the subject of his journeys raised more than £9000 for charity.¹⁸² The publisher's correspondence gives no indication, but surely Murray's prestige played a role in MacGregor's decision. Sampson Low, who had published MacGregor's first three books, was a respectable business, but lacked the formidable history and connections of Murray's.¹⁸³ Equally, Murray's decision to accept *The Rob Roy on the Jordan* was influenced by the success of MacGregor's

¹⁸² NLS Ms 40742, John MacGregor to John Murray, May 8, 1872.

¹⁸³ J. MacGregor, *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe on Rivers and Lakes of Europe* (London: S. Low, Son, and Marston, 1866); J. MacGregor, *The Rob Roy in the Baltic: A Canoe Cruise through Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Sleswig, Holstein, the North Sea, and the Baltic* (London: S. Low, Son, and Marston, 1867); J. MacGregor, *The Voyage Alone in the Yawl 'Rob Roy': From London to Paris, and Back by Havre, the Isle of Wight, South Coast &c.* (London: S. Low, Son, and Marston, 1867).

other publications. The eccentric canoeist had been transformed by the success of his books into a prominent adventuring philanthropist.¹⁸⁴

Accepting Femininity

What of the writings of female travellers? Murray subjected the manuscripts of female authors to the same standards of novelty and geographical interest as those of their male counterparts. In a genre in which novelty — of location, means of travel, or otherwise — was a critical feature, female travel authors in the later nineteenth century were immediately placed at a disadvantage relative to their male counterparts. Women were increasingly afforded opportunities to travel, and occasionally to travel unaccompanied, but were still constrained by the expectations of polite Victorian society and were rarely given the opportunity to venture beyond established routes.¹⁸⁵ Many women circulated manuscript accounts of their journeys among friends and family, but most of these narratives were never published for wider circulation.¹⁸⁶ Women who travelled along ordinary tourist routes rarely produced narratives novel enough to merit publication, while those who did travel off the beaten track often accompanied husbands who might contemplate publication of their own accounts. Colbert (2016) notes that “travel writing as literary production may have sanctioned female participation but was less apt to do so the closer women

¹⁸⁴ Harris and Baigent (2008).

¹⁸⁵ M. Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870–1914* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006). p. 14. Murray (2016).

¹⁸⁶ C. Thompson, “Journeys to Authority: Reassessing Women’s Early Travel Writing, 1763–1862”, *Women’s Writing* (2016) 1–20.

Date Published	Author	Title	Region of Travel
1863	Lucy Sherrard Atkinson (1817–1893)	<i>Recollections of Tartar Steppes</i>	Russia
1868	Lady Di Beauclerk (1841–1905)	<i>A Summer and Winter in Norway</i>	Scandinavia
1869	Fanny Bury Palliser (1805–1878)	<i>Brittany & Its Byways</i>	Western Europe
1875	Isabella Bird (1831–1904)	<i>The Hawaiian Archipelago</i>	Hawaii
1878	Isobel Gill	<i>Six Months in Ascension</i>	Atlantic
1879	Isabella Bird (1831–1904)	<i>A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains</i>	America
1879	Anne Blunt (1837–1913)	<i>Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates</i>	Middle East
1879	Matilda Houston (1815?–1892)	<i>Twenty Years in the Wild West</i>	Ireland
1880	Isabella Bird (1831–1904)	<i>Unbeaten Tracks in Japan</i>	Japan
1881	Anne Blunt (1837–1913)	<i>A Pilgrimage to Nejd</i>	Middle East
1883	Isabella Bird (1831–1904)	<i>The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither</i>	China
1883	F.D. Bridges	<i>Journal of a Lady's Travels Round the World</i>	Worldwide
1889	Hariot Dufferin and Ava (1843–1936)	<i>Our Viceregal Life in India</i>	India
1889	Janet Ross (1842–1927)	<i>The Land of Manfred</i>	Western Europe
1890	Somerset, Susan Margaret McKinnon St. Maur, Duchess of (d. 1936)	<i>Impressions of a Tenderfoot during a Journey in Search of Sport in the Far West</i>	America
1891	Isabella Bird (1831–1904)	<i>Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan</i>	Middle East
1891	Hariot Dufferin and Ava (1843–1936)	<i>My Canadian Journal</i>	Canada

Table 3.2: Narratives of travel by female authors published by John Murray, 1860–1892.

approached the commercial world of book publishing”.¹⁸⁷ Murray’s pattern of disproportionately rejecting women’s manuscripts certainly fits this pattern.

Women wrote just twelve percent of the travel narratives published by Murray in the period 1860 to 1892: of 102 authors and 138 books published, only seventeen books were written by just eleven women. That Murray published many more travel narratives authored by men than women is unsurprising.

¹⁸⁷ B. Colbert, “British Women’s Travel Writing, 1780–1840: Bibliographical Reflections”, *Women’s Writing* (2016) 1–19. p. 6.

Year	Total Travel	Number Women	Percent Women
1860	26	6	23%
1865	6	1	17%
1870	7	1	14%
1875	16	2	13%
1880	22	5	23%
1885	11	2	18%
1890	11	2	18%
Total	99	19	19%

Table 3.3: Manuscripts by female authors submitted to John Murray, as recorded in the publisher's Manuscripts Book for the period 1855–1892 (NLS Ms 42634).

However, Murray's manuscripts book also indicates that the publisher rejected manuscripts from a disproportionate number of women writers. Based on a sample taken every five years between 1860 and 1890, 19% of the works of travel submitted to Murray, but only 12% of those published, were written by women. This increased rate of rejection does not necessarily imply gender discrimination. Rather, it is a reflection of the lack of opportunity for women travellers to visit remote locations and participate in expeditions which Murray deemed novel. Far more often, women were part of a "second wave" of settlers, or tourists, rather than explorers in their own right.

The seventeen books by female authors, twelve percent of the travel narratives Murray published in the period 1860 to 1892, however, is markedly higher than the five percent of female-authored travel narratives in the genre as a whole during the period 1780 to 1840, as calculated by Colbert (2016).¹⁸⁸ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015) identify sixteen works of travel, or about seven percent, authored by women and published by Murray in the period 1773 to 1859. However,

¹⁸⁸ Colbert (2016).

these figures are not directly comparable to my study: Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015) omit works of European travel in their survey, while four of the seventeen female-authored works I consider fall into this category. Additionally, the authors of both studies include geographical description and instructions to travellers in their definition of travel works, while this study is restricted to narrative accounts.¹⁸⁹ Colbert (2016) demonstrates a very strong upward trend in the number of women's travel narratives published in the first four decades of the nineteenth century, but Murray's publications in the latter half of the century do not follow any discernible trend, likely due to the small sample size.¹⁹⁰ Despite these differences, however, the larger percentage of female-authored titles in my study does suggest a widening scope of participation for women travellers in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Murray's reluctance to publish books by women travellers reflects the general condescension of Victorian society towards the types of observations female travellers tended to record. Women were rarely offered the opportunity to gain the scientific training, or the independence, to contribute to the rigorous geographical measurement and recording which was the ideal of expeditions like those supported by the Royal Geographical Society.¹⁹¹ As a consequence of the societal limitations imposed on their movement and occupations, then, women's geographical

¹⁸⁹ D.d.V. Beauclerk, *A Summer and Winter in Norway* (London: John Murray, 1868); M. Houston, *Twenty Years in the Wild West: Or, Life in Connaught*. (London: John Murray, 1879); F.B. Palliser, *Brittany & Its Byways: Some Account of Its Inhabitants and Its Antiquities; During a Residence in That Country* (London: John Murray, 1869); J. Ross, *The Land of Manfred, Prince of Tarentum and King of Sicily: Rambles in Remote Parts of Southern Italy, with Special Reference to Their Historical Associations* (London: John Murray, 1889).

¹⁹⁰ Colbert (2016), p. 11.

¹⁹¹ Anderson (2006), p. 15. Thompson (2016), p. 9. Domosh (1991), p. 96.

observations were more often social and cultural than rigorously empirical. Domosh (1991) distinguishes between objective and subjective knowledges in her argument for the canonical acknowledgement of Victorian women travellers as pioneering geographers, but, as Stoddart (1991) points out, only from an anachronistic perspective did the majority of these women contribute to knowledges we now consider as geography.¹⁹² While distinctions between professional and amateur scientific and geographical enquiry were not fully formalised in the later nineteenth century, geography as a discipline was more narrowly defined, and more rigorously masculine.¹⁹³ The Royal Geographical Society, for example, quickly evolved into an organisation for members with an *interest* in geographical discoveries, not one exclusively reserved for those making them. It nevertheless maintained unequal standards for the admission of men and women, only accepting Isabella Bird, already a prominent author of travel narratives published by Murray, as one of its first female fellows in 1892.¹⁹⁴ The battle for full acceptance of women continued into the twentieth century.¹⁹⁵

An emphasis on individual experience, regardless of the size of a traveller's party, was typical of Murray's later nineteenth-century travel books. Literary accounts of journeys tended to emphasise the independence of the traveller, and as Seaton notes, the role of companions was often downplayed "in order to authorise

¹⁹² Domosh (1991), p. 96; Stoddart (1991).

¹⁹³ Maddrell (2009).

¹⁹⁴ M. Domosh, "Beyond the Frontiers of Geographical Knowledge", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (1991) 488–490; D. Middleton, "Bishop [Née Bird], Isabella Lucy (1831–1904)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2005); Maddrell (2009).

¹⁹⁵ Stoddart (1991); D. Middleton, *Victorian Lady Travellers* (New York: Dutton, 1965).

the effect of heroic or knowledgeable, individual odyssey”.¹⁹⁶ This trope posed a problem for women writers of the era, who were almost uniformly accompanied on their travels by a supervising companion. One way Murray’s female authors managed this challenge of establishing individuality was to write in the first-person plural. By using “we” to refer to their actions and not naming a male companion, they could avoid giving specific acknowledgement to the male companion’s guidance or actions but still defer to societal expectations of supervised travel. Isabella Bird was the only one of eleven female authors published by Murray in the period 1860–1892 to travel alone. Of the other ten, nine travelled with their husbands, while Lady Di Beauclerk was accompanied by a female relative.

Despite these challenges, the increasing distinction between expedition reports published for the geographical community and less formal travel narratives offered an opportunity for women authors. Even if a male companion’s work was published in scientific circles, an account of daily life abroad, which included scientific or naturalist content directed at a less erudite audience, could be marketable. David Gill, writing the introduction to his wife Isobel’s *Six Months in Ascension: An Unscientific Account of a Scientific Expedition* (1878), observed: “A scientific expedition may be said to have two histories. The one treats of the special object of the expedition, the other of the personal adventures of those concerned in it. It is only the former which finds permanent record in the Transactions of scientific

¹⁹⁶ A.V. Seaton, “Getting Socially on the Road: The Short, Happy Life of the Anapestic Tourism Narrative, 1766–1830” in *Travel Writing, Visual Culture, and Form, 1760–1900*, ed. M. Henes and B.H. Murray (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016) 115–138. p. 120.

societies: the other too often remains unwritten”.¹⁹⁷ These types of “personal adventures” written by women accompanying their husbands on expeditions or diplomatic ventures account for about one third of the female travel narratives Murray published. Another third are narratives of touristic travel or temporary settlement abroad, while five books by the relentlessly independent Isabella Bird account for a final third in their own right.

Beyond these broadest of generic distinctions, however, both text and paratext of the women’s travel narratives published by Murray have little in common other than the gender of their authors. The diversity of their subjects, styles and formats generally parallels those of male-authored narratives of travel. Though many studies have considered women’s travel writing as a distinct genre, especially in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, recent publications suggest that this categorisation may not always be appropriate.¹⁹⁸ Saunders (2014) suggests that “‘women’ is not a unitary category”, while Thompson (2016) further argues that “multiple, intersectional factors”, of which gender is only one, ultimately determine the perception and representation of an author’s travels.¹⁹⁹ For these reasons, I consider works by women authors alongside those of their male counterparts for the remainder of this study.

¹⁹⁷ I. Gill, *Six Months in Ascension: An Unscientific Account of a Scientific Expedition* (London: John Murray, 1878). p. vii–viii.

¹⁹⁸ See Middleton (1965); D. Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Maddrell (2009).

¹⁹⁹ C.B. Saunders, “Women, Travel Writing, and Truth” in *Routledge Research in Travel Writing*, ed. C.B. Saunders (New York: Routledge, 2014) 1–10. p. 1; Thompson (2016).

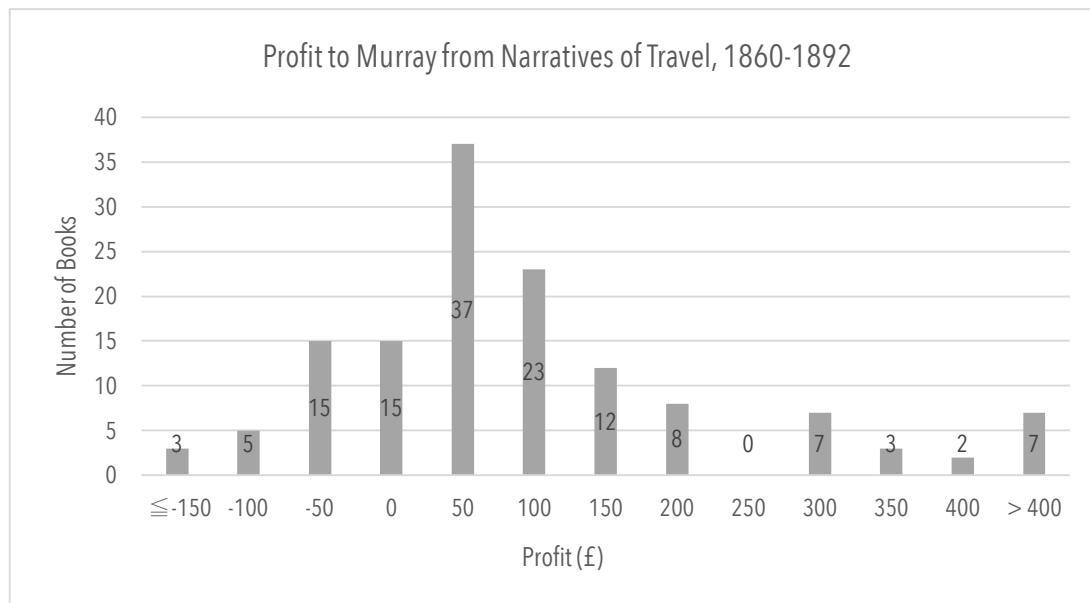


Figure 3.3: Profits earned, 1860-1892, by John Murray for narratives of travel in those years (n=137). Columns represent the quantities less than or equal to the value listed; so, for example, 37 books earned the publisher between 1p and £50 profit. Note that these figures represent the publisher's share, which was not always equal to that received by authors (see Figure 3.4). Profits earned after 1892 are not included in this graph.

Profitability and Public Image

In addition to considering a work's quality, Murray had to account for its potential profitability. Murray, like all publishers, needed "to maintain a continual flow of products that on the average [were] commercially viable and financially successful".²⁰⁰ To some extent, any loss incurred in one area of business could be offset by other ventures. The *Handbooks*, for example, were popular and extremely successful in the mid nineteenth century. By the 1860s, however, their success had faded. The series had been eclipsed in popularity and credibility by Baedeker and other competitors, and ceased to produce consistent profits.²⁰¹ Travel and exploration books were a major element of the Murray's identity as a publisher, thus some books

²⁰⁰ D. Finkelstein, *House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2010). p. 19.

²⁰¹ Goodwin and Johnston (2013), p. 45.

could be accepted on the basis of their prestige or scientific merit. Any losses, though, would have to be offset by other successes. Murray's publications were rarely lavish, but with the exception of a few bestsellers that were tranced down in reprints, his books consistently appealed to the upper end of the market. Murray relied upon selling relatively few copies of moderately expensive books. The strategy was, on the whole, successful: in the later nineteenth century, nearly three quarters of the travel narratives Murray published were profitable. [See Figure 3.3]

The terms that Murray offered to authors were predicated on concerns of profitability and prestige. Author and publisher both had an interest in a book's financial success, but not always to the same degree. Murray engaged in a delicate power dynamic with those authors whose journeys he brought into print. Most authors' letters are deferential, but determined, and Murray's responses generally adopt a similar tone. The style of these proposals is markedly different to the declarations of modesty and near-accidental publication that were common in authorial prefaces of this period.²⁰² Murray wrote to Sir Richard Temple: "A book before it is published is like a lottery ticket, it may turn out a blank or a prize, with this risk in addition that when the author imagines... he is going to make his fortune on a sudden the sale stops short without warning".²⁰³ Many of Murray's authors could afford to play this lottery regardless of the odds, but Murray had to consider his business' interests, financial and otherwise.

Murray's usual terms were to offer an author half of all profits on a new book, payable upon the publisher's half-yearly calculation of profits, usually at the

²⁰² Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 101–104.

²⁰³ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Sir Richard Temple, July 21, 1880.

end of December and June. Murray justified his practice of delayed payment by relating instances of particularly successful works in the longer term: “As I mentioned to you verbally my usual mode of arranging with authors, as in the case of Livingstone, Grote, Stanley &c. has been to take on me all expenses and risk... in this way I have had the pleasure of paying them in the end much larger amounts than I could possibly have offered at the outset, before the possible success of their works could be known”.²⁰⁴ This deferred benefit was certainly true of Sir Austen Henry Layard, who initially asked Murray to purchase the copyright of *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849) for £250. However, Murray insisted upon a profit-sharing arrangement. Within a year, Layard had received £1500 from the book’s sales, and continued to profit from the arrangement until his death.²⁰⁵

Murray offered favoured authors preferential terms: two-thirds profits rather than his usual even division. He was careful to emphasise this special treatment in his offers, naming other well-known authors who had accepted similar terms. For example, Murray immediately made an offer to Henry Walter Bates for his *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, despite having seen only a portion of the manuscript:

I do not know that I can do better than offer you the same terms I have made with Mr. Darwin — viz. I take on myself all the expences [*sic*] of the publication — including illustrations & before the publication of every edition as soon as I can collect the account of expences incurred I give him by note of hand at six or eight months a sum equal to two-thirds of the estimated profit while I alone bear the risque of the undertaking. This is also the arrangement which I make with Sir Charles Lyell for his works & as these are both authors of established reputation,

²⁰⁴ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Sir Henry Gordon, April 30, 1885.

²⁰⁵ Murray (1920), p. 16.

while yours is a new name, you will perceive that I have stretched a point in your case to make an offer as liberal as possible.²⁰⁶

Authors did not always anticipate Murray's conditions. American traveller Albert Bickmore proposed a book of *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago* to Murray, suggesting terms of ten percent royalty on the retail price of the edition. Murray acknowledged: "although I do not commonly engage to publish a work until I have seen at least a part of it I feel that on the strength of your reputation and your contributions already made to the Geographical Society I may make an exception in your case".²⁰⁷ He refused, however, to pay Bickmore a flat percentage of the sale price on every copy, offering instead preferential terms of a two-thirds share of any profits. Murray explained that because British publishers offered larger discounts to the trade than did American publishers, the author's percentage share (based on price advertised to the public, not trade price) would have a disproportionate impact on revenue.²⁰⁸ While Murray avoided offering authors a percentage share, the publisher occasionally departed from his profit-sharing arrangements to offer an advance, or to permit an author to underwrite part of the production costs of a particularly expensive or risky book.²⁰⁹ However, Murray's terms of payment generally ensured that authors for whom profit was the key aim, rather than prestige or public acclaim, would look elsewhere for a publisher.

²⁰⁶ NLS Ms 41913, John Murray III to Henry Walter Bates, February 24, 1862.

²⁰⁷ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to Albert Bickmore, April 14, 1868.

²⁰⁸ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to Albert Bickmore, April 14, 1868.

²⁰⁹ See, for example, Ms 41913, August 10, 1867: Murray agrees to publish a book of travels in Spain for J.B. Simpson, accepting £50 to "cover all expenses including binding and advertising" for an edition of 750 copies.

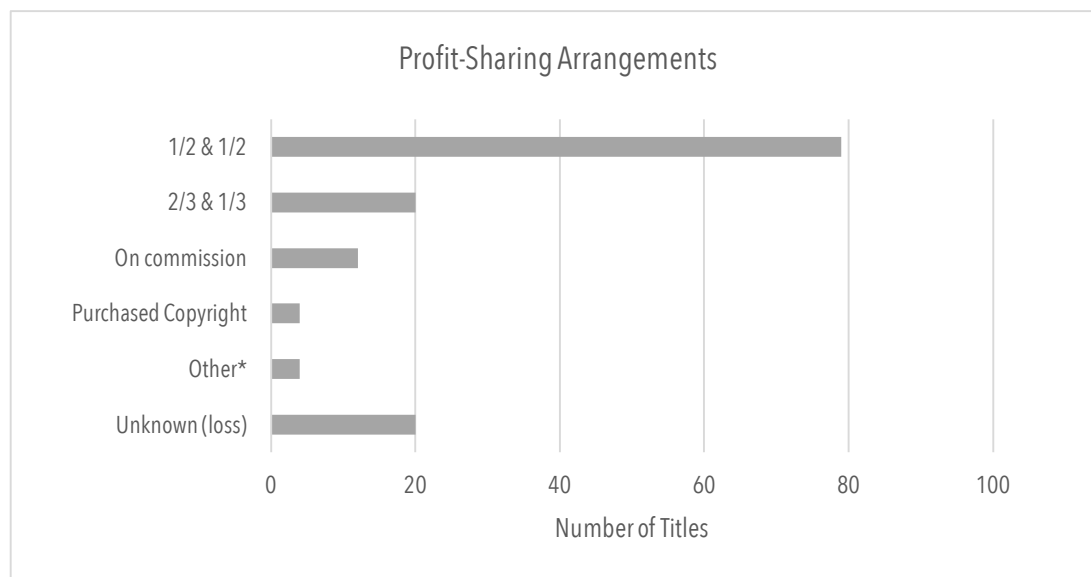


Figure 3.4: Share of profits allotted to an author and to Murray under an arrangement to bring out a new book of travels, 1860-1892 (n=138). Where correspondence does not make the initial agreement clear, and where no profit is recorded and divided in the ledgers, it is not possible to determine whether author and publisher would have each received a half share, or whether the author was intended to receive a preferential share of two thirds of any profits.

*Non-standard arrangements listed as "other" include agreements where profits were initially divided evenly but the author's share increased to two-thirds after a certain number of copies were sold, as well as books purchased in sheets from American publishers for which the author received no additional compensation from British publication.

Unlike some publishers, Murray generally refused to bring out books at an author's own expense. Some writers, desperate for publication, would offer to cover all costs of production themselves, thus relieving the publisher of any financial risk. However, these works still incurred demands of time and effort on the part of the publisher. Perhaps more importantly for Murray, they did not always result in books of which the publisher could be proud to bring out under his name. Murray wrote to one author: "It has long been a rule with me not to publish books except at my own expense, my practise and my pleasure being to pay authors, not to be paid by them. If I see my way to the probable success of any work I readily take all the risk, if not I retire from the venture".²¹⁰

²¹⁰ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Professor T.E Holland, April 19, 1883.

Occasionally, Murray bent his rule against publication at a writer's expense and agreed to support an author, often a member of the aristocracy, in publishing for private circulation. Assistance to a prominent member of the court would help to advance Murray's reputation. In 1869, for example, Jane Loftus, Marchioness of Ely and Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria, inquired with Murray about the possibility of printing her manuscript of travels in the East. Murray replied deferentially:

I have not yet had time to read the M.S. so as to form any opinion, how far it might be advisable to publish the work to the world. If you decide on printing at all events for your own circle I wd. read the sheets in proof with greater ease than the M.S. If you hesitate to begin until you can have this opinion to guide you I will ask you to allow me 2 or 3 weeks which will be required before I can give it the necessary attentive perusal. Whether published or not it will give me the utmost pleasure to be of use to you in carrying out your wishes.²¹¹

The author's response is not recorded, but the Marchioness ultimately decided to keep her work away from the world. *Mafeesh, or Nothing New: The Journal of a Tour in Greece, Turkey, Egypt, the Sinai Desert, Petra, Palestine, Syria and Russia* was printed in 1870.²¹² The two-volume narrative does not bear Murray's name, only noting "printed for private circulation" by William Clowes.²¹³

William Gill's *The River of Golden Sand* (1879) was at first refused by Murray on the grounds that the manuscript needed to be substantially condensed if it

²¹¹ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to Jane Loftus, Marchioness of Ely, November 22, 1869.

²¹² J. Loftus, Marchioness of Ely, *Mafeesh, or, Nothing New* (London: Printed for Private Circulation, 1870).

²¹³ As Murray did not attach his name to this work and it was not publicly distributed, I have not included it in my larger study.

Date	Author	Title	Sale Price
1868	Seddon, John Pollard (1827–1906)	Rambles in the Rhine Provinces	42s.
1870	Meade, Herbert George Philip (1842–1868)	A Ride through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand	14s.
1871	Whymper, Edward (1840–1911)	Scrambles Amongst the Alps	21s.
1876	Reed, Edward James (1830–1906)	Letters from Russia in 1875	5s.
1880	Schliemann, Heinrich (1822–1890)	Ilios	50s.
1880	Whymper, Edward (1840–1911)	The Ascent of the Matterhorn	10s. 6d.
1882	Coles, John	Summer Travelling in Iceland	18s.
1883	Wilkinson, Hugh (1850–?)	Sunny Lands and Seas	12s.
1884	Schliemann, Heinrich (1822–1890)	Troja	42s.
1891	Stuart, Henry Windsor Villiers (1827–1895)	Adventures amidst the Equatorial Forests and Rivers of South America	21s.
1891	Whymper, Edward (1840–1911)	Travels amongst the Great Andes of the Equator	21s.

Table 3.4: Narratives of travel published by John Murray on commission, 1860–1892. Murray's standard arrangement for works on commission was for authors to fund the entire cost of production. The publisher received 10% of all income from sales, the remainder going directly to the author.

were to catch the public's interest.²¹⁴ Gill did not have time to edit before embarking for Armenia to take up a new diplomatic position. As a compromise, he agreed with Murray that the book should be brought out, but that Gill would pay £100 of the book's production cost until a sufficient profit had been made to reimburse the author.²¹⁵ Gill was delighted to learn that his investment had been repaid and praised the "get up" of the book's physical appearance in an undated letter to Murray. Notably, the publisher's Copies Ledger makes no mention of this arrangement, recording only the author's half profits at £98.

Murray paid for a portion of Gill's publishing costs, but eleven of the books of travel Murray published between 1860 and 1892 were funded entirely by their authors [Figure 3.8]. Despite Murray's protestations to aspiring authors that he

²¹⁴ W.J. Gill, *The River of Golden Sand: The Narrative of a Journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah* (London: John Murray, 1879).

²¹⁵ NLS Ms 40448, William Gill to John Murray, February 26, 1879; NLS Ms 40448, William Gill to John Murray, March 23, 1879; NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 3.

published only at his own expense, Murray bent this rule for exceptionally expensive books, or for authors who he wanted to flatter for other reasons. The cost of illustrating Heinrich Schliemann's lavish archaeological narratives, as well as John Pollard Seddon's *Rambles in the Rhine Provinces*, a massive imperial quarto which sold for 42 shillings, far exceeded the amount Murray was willing to spend on illustration for a book whose profits were not guaranteed. Hugh Wilkinson wished to publish an account of his Pacific voyage on a pleasure yacht, but Murray declined to fund what was effectively a vanity project. The author admitted in his preface that his journey had covered a "well-beaten track, and one which would create no interest in the Royal Geographical Society", yet suggested that the letters, which had "found a favourable reception among a large circle of friends", might also be of interest to a wider audience.²¹⁶ Murray presumably doubted this assumption, and the *Westminster Review* concurred when the book was published, deeming Wilkinson a "globe-trotter" and a tourist whose steam-ship journey offered nothing new to his readers.²¹⁷ Just 500 copies of *Sunny Lands and Seas* had been printed, and so low a number virtually guaranteed a loss; the resulting £141 revenue could hardly have covered the author's expenses for printing and publication of a book with 39 illustrations and two maps.²¹⁸ Murray received a standard commission of ten percent on revenue from the book, meaning that his compensation for facilitating the advertising and sale of Wilkinson's narrative was just over £14.

²¹⁶ H. Wilkinson, *Sunny Lands and Seas: A Voyage in the SS. 'Ceylon'* (London: John Murray, 1883). p. vi.

²¹⁷ "Politics, Sociology, Voyages and Travels", *Westminster Review* 119:236(1883) 541–553. p. 548–549.

²¹⁸ NLS Ms 42765, p. 247.

Publishing was a business, but it was in Murray's interest to remain at least outwardly aloof from the minutiae of profit and loss. Becoming too obviously concerned with the profitability of his business would have jeopardised the publisher's reputation as a gentleman most concerned with the acquisition and distribution of knowledge.²¹⁹ Murray did not anticipate financial success in every publication he accepted, but other motivations could induce him to publish a work under his own imprint. He wrote to the widow of Henri Mouhot, a Frenchman whose travels in Burma had been sponsored by the Royal Geographical Society:

I have examined the M.S. of Mons. Mouhot's Travels and have given it very careful consideration. It reflects the greatest credit on him — at the same time the narrative is of that nature that I cannot anticipate great success from its publication — and to bring it out properly with illustrations would involve considerable outlay. If you look to derive any considerable pecuniary advantage from the publication — therefore I cannot encourage you in the expectation and I would advise you to consult some other publisher. If however you would be content to abide the result of whatever it may be, and will bring me the narrative properly translated and fit for the English press as is customary I will undertake all other expenses of publication at my own sole risque, and in the event of the work succeeding, will pay you one half of the profits. I would urge you, however to try if you cannot make better terms with some other publisher, in which case I shall not be ill-pleased — at the same time if I do publish it you may rely on my acting as a good steward of your interests and doing my best to promote its success.²²⁰

Murray was likely attracted by the scholarly prestige of Mouhot's travels; he had published an abridged account of his journey in the *Journal of the Royal*

²¹⁹ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 195.

²²⁰ NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to Madame Mouhot, 20 February 1863.

Geographical Society the previous year.²²¹ Scientific credibility alone, though, was not enough to guarantee the acceptance of a work. Henry Walter Bates, a successful Murray author and Assistant Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, recommended one of the Society's sponsored explorers to Murray for publication in 1884. Though Bates wrote that H.O. Forbes was "a very good botanist and anthropologist and has made interesting discoveries especially in Sumatra and Timor Lamb the latter of which he surveyed and charted — work which recommended him to us as a good Geographer", Murray declined to publish Forbes' account.²²²

Not all authors accepted Murray's proposed terms. Failing to secure African explorer Henry Morton Stanley as a Murray author, the publisher attempted to come to an agreement with another member of his expedition.²²³ Murray hoped to publish the journals of Thomas Heazle Parke, Stanley's medical officer on the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. A letter of March or April 1891 to F. Munton offers preferential terms:

I had yesterday the pleasure of seeing Mr. Parke, who has consented to make in his M.S. the few changes suggested to him, and I have agreed to publish his African Journals for him. As to business arrangements he leaves me to settle terms with you — those wch. I propose are that I should take upon me all the cost risque of publication, and pay him (1) either one half of the profits arising from the sale, with two thirds profit if the sale shall exceed 2000 copies, on all sold above that number, or (2) that I pay him a Royalty of 10 per cent on the retail price of all

²²¹ H. Mouhot, "Notes on Cambodia, the Lao Country, &c.", *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 32(1862) 142–163.

²²² NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, October 6, 1884.

²²³ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to H.M. Stanley, August 9, 1872.

copies sold. The copyright to remain with him. I remain, my dear sir, faithfully yours.²²⁴

Despite Murray's highly unusual offer to pay royalties rather than a share of the profits, the book was ultimately published by Samson, Low, suggesting that Murray's terms were deemed insufficient.

Murray made an exceptionally generous offer to John Hanning Speke for his account of a journey to the source of the Nile: two thirds of the book's profits, including, regardless of sales, a payment of at least two thousand guineas.²²⁵ The sensational nature of Speke's journey and the public controversy over Speke's claims would have made Murray anticipate a large sale in several editions, capable of repaying his outlay. Furthermore, publishing the narrative of such a prominent explorer would have reinforced Murray's position in the market. Murray wrote to Roderick Murchison, president of the RGS, in advance of Speke's highly anticipated return:

As the publisher of the travels of Livingstone, Du Chaillu and as well as of the Geographical Society Journal, you may judge how anxious I am to have also the honor of publishing Capt. Speke's Discovery of the Source of the Nile. Capt. Speke may arrive any day or hour — you will have much to say and hear from him, but it would be a favor added to many others conferred on me, if you could find an opportunity to state this my anxious wish — and that if he is able to place his M.S.S. in my hands, I am prepared to treat him as I did Livingstone, i.e. give him 2/3rds of all the profits of the Work and guarantee to him — in the first instance Two Thousand Guineas, as part of them.²²⁶

²²⁴ NLS Ms 41916, John Murray to F. Munton, [March or April] 1891.

²²⁵ NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to Roderick Murchison, June 15, 1863.

²²⁶ NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to Roderick Murchison, June 15, 1863.

There seems to have been confusion over the proposed advance. Youngs records that a week later, Blackwood offered Speke “the five thousand pounds Murray offered & some similar arrangement as he proposed for the contingent profits”.²²⁷ Whether the offered sum was two or five thousand pounds, Blackwood ultimately won the privilege of publishing Speke’s manuscript; ironically, the amount of editorial intervention necessary to publish the book made him, at least temporarily, regret the choice, complaining: “It will be a tough job, and I almost wish at times we had let Murray have it”.²²⁸ Murray had many challenges of his own, however, and in the case of Paul Du Chaillu, an apparently straightforward acceptance became far more complicated than Murray had intended.

An Anticipated Success: Paul Du Chaillu’s *Land of the Midnight Sun*

In the 1860s, Paul Du Chaillu published two successful narratives of African travel with Murray. His *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* was of Murray’s most successful books, selling nearly 20,000 copies between its publication in 1861 and the end of the century. Du Chaillu’s *Journey to Ashango Land* (1867) was printed in a single edition of 2,000 copies but still produced a substantial profit. Given this success, Murray agreed in 1871 to publish a new book of Du Chaillu’s travels in Scandinavia — before he had seen Du Chaillu’s manuscript. This early acceptance is atypical of Murray’s usual practice: it was too risky to agree to accept

²²⁷ T. Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994). p. 86.

²²⁸ D. Finkelstein, “Unraveling Speke: The Unknown Revision of an African Exploration Classic”, *History in Africa* 30(2003) 117–132. p. 120; D. Finkelstein, “Breaking the Thread: The Authorial Reinvention of John Hanning Speke in His Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile”, *Text* 9(1996) 280–296.

the work of lesser-known authors without being able to confirm the quality of the full manuscript, or at least several chapters of the proposed book. Du Chaillu's close association with the Murrays, and his previous successes, must have caused Murray to depart from his usual habit.

Du Chaillu embarked enthusiastically on his manuscript, posting Murray regular updates about the progress of his travels. By June of 1872, he had sent Murray the first of his drawings and photographs for engraving.²²⁹ Illustrations were usually selected after a manuscript had been submitted, but because the process of preparing woodcuts was time-consuming, Du Chaillu encouraged Murray to begin early. In addition to the first packet of photographs, sketches, and stereoscope views forwarded to Murray in 1872, Du Chaillu wrote to Murray in May 1873 and January 1874, enquiring about the progress of illustration.²³⁰ As well as being time consuming work, woodcuts were also a major financial investment. Based only on the amount of capital invested in illustrations, Murray effectively locked himself into a commitment to publish Du Chaillu's narrative. Murray spent £262.6s. on illustrations for Du Chaillu's Scandinavian journey, an enormous sum in comparison to the £50 or less invested on illustrations for most of Murray's books of travel.²³¹ In addition to his enquiries about the progress of illustrations, Du Chaillu consistently updated Murray on the progress of his writing, assuring the publisher: "I will work hard!", and consistently promising that the manuscript would soon be ready for printing.²³²

²²⁹ NLS Ms 40206, Paul Du Chaillu to John Murray, June 14, 1872.

²³⁰ NLS Ms 40206, Paul Du Chaillu to John Murray, May 1, 1873 [misfiled as May 1879, ff. 125–126] and January 16, 1874.

²³¹ NLS Ms 42732 p. 416

²³² NLS Ms 40206, Paul Du Chaillu to John Murray, November 26, 1873.

The author, however, did not keep to his proposed schedule. In May 1873, he wrote to Murray declaring: “the book must be out this next winter”, but by the following November, the manuscript was still far from complete.²³³ Du Chaillu claimed that “a great part of the book is already written”, but he also insisted: “by the way I must come back for I must kill bears on snow shoes... and there are things which I must see in Sweden and Norway, then we will have a good book”.²³⁴ Du Chaillu continued to send instructions to the wood engraver, but in September 1875 he declared that “we must postpone publication”, insisting at the same time “we will require many more illustrations”.²³⁵

Du Chaillu finally sent his manuscript to Murray for printing in June 1876.

Murray responded with a letter that must have come as a surprise to Du Chaillu:

I have a very painful duty... I cannot undertake to publish your work on Scandinavia in its present state, and in its present extent. I know how much time you have spent on this work, and how extensive the journeys you have made, yet the result I feel convinced, will not sustain your reputation as an Author derived from your former travels. It appears to me that you have set to work upon wrong principles by ignoring the almost numberless books of travels in the Northern Countries, many of them very entertaining, and supposing that the dry details of an Itinerary day after day... and involving constant and tedious repetition, would go down with the Public already tired of the Subject. Entire novelty of treatment, a great difficulty I confess for an author now making his appearance, would alone have rendered such a book acceptable. The very bulk of your journal encreases [*sic*] the obstacles to its success. The only course I can suggest to you is to put your M.S. into the hands of some clever writer, who will master the whole of its contents, select the most novel and interesting passages, re-write parts, connect the whole into

²³³ NLS Ms 40206, Paul Du Chaillu to John Murray, May 1, 1873.

²³⁴ NLS Ms 40206, Paul Du Chaillu to John Murray, November 26, 1873.

²³⁵ NLS Ms 40206, Paul Du Chaillu to John Murray, September 18, 1875.

one consistent narrative of some 400 or 500 pages... The esteem which I feel for you after our long acquaintance would cause me great regret if any work bearing your name should come forth derogatory to the reputation you have so justly earned. For what would be only pecuniary loss to me would be loss of fame to you.²³⁶

Murray and Du Chaillu's correspondence continued, and in August of 1880, four years after Murray's initial rejection and nearly a decade after the publisher first accepted the project, Du Chaillu sent his finished manuscript to Murray for printing. By that time, the work contained over 200 illustrations. By Du Chaillu's own admission, it was entirely unrecognisable from its original form.²³⁷ In his correspondence with Du Chaillu, Murray articulated many of the same themes which are implied in his rejections of Tallack and MacGregor. Murray's insistence upon brevity, incident, and novelty of treatment are unsurprising, but what is remarkable is that Murray enforced these criteria upon his best-known authors, seeking to protect the reputation of both author and publisher.

Conclusions

Clearly, not every aspiring author who submitted a manuscript to Murray continued along his or her journey into print. This chapter has examined the ways novelty was defined in the context of travel literature; how Murray's insistence upon novelty affected the publisher's decision, and that of his readers, to accept or reject books of travel and exploration submitted for his consideration; the factors which caused Murray to disproportionately reject the submissions of female travellers; and the

²³⁶ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to Paul Du Chaillu, July 21, 1876.

²³⁷ Du Chaillu (1881).

financial considerations and terms which Murray offered to the authors whose manuscripts he did accept.

Murray's correspondence and ledger books make clear that the process of accepting and rejecting manuscripts was immensely variable — the identity of the author, location of travels, quality of the narrative, and relevance to current events could all influence the publisher's decision-making process. The quantity of archived correspondence makes impossible, except by serendipity, the discovery of letters from travellers and explorers whose works Murray never published. At best, the correspondence reveals cases like that of Du Chaillu, in which Murray rejected (at least initially) a manuscript from an author whose works he had previously published, and of John MacGregor, whose work he would go on to publish. Ledgers like the Manuscripts Book allow for a more complete understanding of the books that Murray was offered; considering the process by which Murray rejected many books permits a clearer understanding of those he chose to publish. Taken together, these sources offer a rich understanding of Murray's role in curating the circulation of geographical knowledge to the reading public.

Ultimately, the market for literature was always uncertain: Murray wrote to MacGregor: "Every publication is a lottery — not only is public taste very fickle, an author who has been popular last year may cease to be so next, but also the events of the day political news and absorbing rival publications may interfere to blight the best prospects".²³⁸ Deciding to accept the risk of bringing out a new book of travel was only the first step in creating a profitable book. The next decisions, about editing, format, paratexts and marketing could ensure or cripple a book's success.

²³⁸ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to John MacGregor, May 21, 1869

Chapter 4

Editing Travellers' Texts

This chapter considers how editing was practiced in the context of Murray's later nineteenth-century narratives of travel and exploration, and the degree to which editing was necessary. In doing so, it also examines the role of Murray's editors and the extent of their influence. John Murray was reluctant to accept any manuscript which would require substantial editorial intervention. Editing could incur unanticipated costs to a publisher, and the editing process could also delay publication of a new book. However, editing, and editors, were necessary for many works which Murray published. The several reasons for this need stemmed from the fact that many travellers who came to Murray with manuscripts had rarely, if ever, written for publication. First, Murray did not always have access to a complete draft when making his decisions, and a sample chapter or other brief proposal could fail to illustrate flaws in language or literary style. Furthermore, the importance of an author's geographical discoveries or social standing could occasionally overrule a manuscript's narrative failings.

Exceptional travellers were not always exceptional writers. Murray decided a work required editing either from his own judgement of a submitted manuscript, or a report offered by one of his readers. The editorial work Murray arranged for manuscripts of travel and exploration fell into three major categories. Most straightforward was editing for style: smoothing difficulties of language for foreign authors, and wordiness or awkwardness of style for inexperienced writers. Other manuscripts required editing for technical content, in cases where input was needed

from an expert naturalist or geographer of the region. Finally, a few manuscripts required substantial editorial input for their narrative content: major changes to the organisation or length of the text, and, in some cases when the author was no longer alive to write his own narrative, the composition of the manuscript itself.

Editing, I shall show, was critical to the shape a book would finally take, but in this matter Murray acted more as a facilitator than an active participant. He remarked to one author: “There is great gain at all times in obtaining the revision of a fresh unbiased mind and eye to literary work of all kind — at least such is my experience”.²³⁹ Murray generally limited his personal influence to the paratextual aspects of a new book, rather than the text itself; I discuss the evidence for Murray’s paratextual interventions in Chapter 5. The ideal scenario for Murray was to publish an author who could make his own stylistic corrections in a timely fashion, eliminating editorial delays as well as reducing Murray’s outlay on a new work. This was rarely possible, however, and the evidence I have examined shows that professionals paid by Murray, scholarly acquaintances, or family members of an author were frequently asked to serve as editors.

Because the editors of Murray’s books of travel worked independently once assigned to a project by the publisher, little correspondence survives in the archive about pre-publication revisions to authors’ texts. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 2, authors’ original manuscripts are not preserved in the John Murray Archive. For these reasons, in tracing the editorial process for works of travel and exploration John Murray published between 1860 and 1892, it is often difficult to identify the specific changes Murray’s editors made to authors’ manuscripts. Even

²³⁹ NLS Ms 41915, p. 198. John Murray to James Hutton, August 20, 1884.

so, Murray's correspondence often records the delicate task of suggesting to an author that editing — sometimes a euphemism for wholesale alteration — might be necessary. Together with the publisher's ledgers, these letters help illuminate the ways in which John Murray balanced the need to produce high-quality narratives with the time constraints and financial demands of the publishing process.

Editing for Style

In many cases, a manuscript which John Murray accepted for publication required relatively simple adjustments of narrative style rather than fact checking or fundamental reorganisation. For submitted manuscripts of this kind, Murray relied on his regular readers to serve as editors. William and John Milton, brothers who worked for thirty years as Murray's chief evaluators of new travel manuscripts, were also employed by the publisher as editors. While minimal correspondence survives to detail the specific revisions suggested by the Miltons, Murray's ledger books do record Murray's payments to the brothers. When called upon to act as editors as well as readers, as they were at least fourteen times between 1860 and 1881, the Miltons generally received between ten and twenty pounds as payment for their work. These figures suggest that, if they were paid for editing at the same rate as their reading services — 3s. 6d. or 4s. per hour — the Miltons invested nearly ten times the number of hours, a week or more of work, on an average editing assignment.²⁴⁰ The corrections they made to manuscripts, however, are usually impossible to trace. Because no documents recording specific changes suggested by the Miltons survive

²⁴⁰ See, for example, John Jarvis Bisset's *Sport and War* (1875), for which Milton was paid £13.4s. for revising. NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 406.

in the archive, nor do authors' draft manuscripts, their stylistic suggestions are largely invisible in the published books.

The cost of this editing was shared between Murray and his authors. Rather than asking authors for their consent to have a manuscript edited, Murray seems to have commissioned the Miltons to offer suggestions as necessary. Typically referring to a "literary friend", Murray assured authors that "any hints or suggestions worth your notice" would be passed on for their approval.²⁴¹ However, Murray did not tell his authors that payments for initial reading and evaluation, as well as editing work, were incorporated into Murray's accounting of a book's production cost, and therefore affected the author's share of any profits. The minimal additional cost, which rarely exceeded £20, was presumably deemed an unavoidable expense of the publishing process.

One of the few surviving letters from William Milton to Murray concerns David Field Rennie's *The British Arms in North China and Japan* (1864). Rennie published three books with Murray, each of which was initially read by the Miltons. Murray's ledgers record that John Milton was paid £59.12s. for his work revising the manuscript and correcting the proofs of *The British Arms*, the largest amount he received for editing any of Murray's travel works. This record demonstrates the occasional fallibility of Murray's ledger book records, as the archived correspondence clearly indicates that it was William, and not John Milton who was responsible for Rennie's manuscript. The identification of which Milton brother was responsible for a particular editing task is further complicated by the fact that

²⁴¹ NLS Ms 41914 p. 47 John Murray to Lady Eastlake, October 5, 1869.

Murray's main copies ledgers often read simply "Milton" in the list of a new title's expenses, without an identifying initial.

William Milton's letter about *The British Arms in North China and Japan* requests guidance from Murray in curtailing the length of the draft, noting that Rennie reported on many events of the conflict with quotations from eyewitness sources, several of which had already been published in Britain. Milton admits: "the incident is altogether most interest [*sic*], and, with the exception of a certain lengthiness, is well told... but the question arises, do you wish to republish their narratives in these extracts? Should the minute details... be given or should an abridged summary of the events be substituted for the details and for the extracted narratives?"²⁴² The editor's task was enormous. Milton reported that he had reduced the first 2,000 pages of Rennie's manuscript to just one third their original length, hoping that the entire work could be brought out in about 400 pages of printed text.²⁴³ His efforts were successful, and the published book came to just 408 pages.²⁴⁴

The results of editorial interventions were evident to authors when they received printed proofs of their books. Authors' reactions to these hints are rarely recorded in the archive, but the correspondence of David Livingstone makes clear that suggestions were not always welcome. Livingstone called John Milton an "impudent fellow" and his suggestions vexing.²⁴⁵ Horace Marryat also mocked John

²⁴² NLS Ms 40829, William Milton to John Murray, September 27, 1864.

²⁴³ NLS Ms 40829, William Milton to John Murray, September 27, 1864.

²⁴⁴ D.F. Rennie, *The British Arms in North China and Japan: Peking 1860, Kagosima 1862* (London: John Murray, 1864).

²⁴⁵ Quoted in Fraser (1996), p. 34. See also Driver (2013), p. 165–166; Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 181.

Milton's "ignorant" corrections of *A Residence in Jutland, the Danish Isles, and Copenhagen* (1860), though the author admitted his manuscript was "very illegible".²⁴⁶ Despite these protests, the Miltons remained regular readers and editors for Murray until 1881, when Louis Jennings took over as Murray's primary reader for new works of travel and exploration. Jennings was never paid more than £1.2s. 6d. by Murray, and this low fee indicates it is unlikely Jennings undertook editing work in addition to his evaluative duties. In fact, Murray's ledgers record no substantive payments to editors after 1881. It is unlikely that every manuscript Murray accepted between 1882 and 1892 was excellently written; rather, the publisher seems to have moved away from employing paid editors and instead may have asked authors to make their own arrangements for editing.

Even during the years in which the Miltons were regularly working for Murray, some authors organised their own editors based on the publisher's recommendation. Writing to accept Captain Richard C. Mayne's *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (1862), Murray suggested:

At the same time let me add that before going to press a careful revision of your M.S. by the literary friend to whom you alluded will be essential to prevent grammatical errors and redundancies. You had better proceed with the writing out of your M.S. in the order in which they are to be printed — Still I am rather impatient to see your account of the Gold district and any chapter relating to the general resources of the country independent of gold.²⁴⁷

In suggesting revisions to the manuscript, Murray balanced the desire to publish Mayne's travels in a timely manner with the need to produce a polished narrative; in

²⁴⁶ NLS Ms 40780, Horace Marryat to John Murray, 1860 undated.

²⁴⁷ NLS Ms 41913, p. 43. John Murray to Richard C. Mayne, May 9, 1862.

1862, the Cariboo gold rush was in full fever, drawing international interest to a previously un-noteworthy area of the American continent. The literary friend in this case was an acquaintance of Mayne's, rather than a professional employed by Murray, eliminating the additional cost to Murray of paying an editor. Nevertheless, waiting for an editor's advice would push back the date when Murray could begin printing a time-sensitive account of new discoveries.

Not every author was willing to accept Murray's requests for editing. In some cases, a reader's advice seems to have been entirely disregarded and printing proceeded without pause for editing. Murray forwarded Milton's initial evaluation of *Japan: Its History, Traditions, and Religions. With the Narrative of a Visit in 1879* to author Edward James Reed:

...being much pressed by business engagements myself I have induced a literary friend in whose opinion I have great confidence to read the M.S. and report upon it... My friend, the Critic, is more interested in the Historic portion than in the Personal Narrative in which he finds a certain amount of sameness. Fetes, visits to Temples and the like occupy large space in your journal. Perhaps some omission might, with advantage, be made here.²⁴⁸

Murray's ledger records a payment of just £4.15s. for Milton's work on the manuscript. As Reed's narrative was unusually long — the printed edition ran to two demy octavo volumes of more than 350 pages each — this payment was likely for the initial reading and evaluation, rather than any substantive editorial work.²⁴⁹

Reed's correspondence confirms that the author disregarded Murray's advice and

²⁴⁸ NLS Ms 41915, p. 47. John Murray to Edward James Reed, October 2, 1879.

²⁴⁹ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 55, 78.

asked to begin printing without any substantial abridgement of the text.²⁵⁰ The book was unusual in its narrative structure: the first volume contained a historical account of Japan, compiled by Reed from a variety of English-language sources, while the second volume related the particulars of Reed's own visit. Despite reservations about the book's length and structure, Murray agreed to bring out the unabridged text. Ultimately, Reed's stubbornness did not prevent the work from becoming a success: author and publisher each earned more than £225 from the book's sale.²⁵¹

Murray also employed textual editors to revise manuscripts by authors whose first language was not English. The publisher usually looked beyond the Milton family to find suitable editors for these tasks. For these editors, the style of an author's narration was the primary concern, although they occasionally assisted with the content and organisation of a manuscript. Intensive efforts in this area could add substantially to the cost of publishing a new work. Philip Smith, a historian and biblical scholar, was paid £200 for editing Heinrich Schliemann's first two lavishly produced narratives of archaeological expeditions, and £250 for his work on Schliemann's third book, *Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans* (1880).²⁵² These payments were in addition to £50 for a Miss D. Schmitz to translate Schliemann's first manuscript out of German. Once assured of Murray's interest in his publications, Schliemann used his considerable talent for languages (he was reported

²⁵⁰ NLS Ms 41007. Edward James Reed to John Murray, October 8, 1879.

²⁵¹ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 55.

²⁵² NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 392, 405, 421; NLS Ms 42765, p. 221. H. Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries Made on the Site of Ilium and in the Trojan Plain* (London: John Murray, 1875); H. Schliemann, *Myceanae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns* (London: John Murray, 1878); H. Schliemann, *Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans* (London: John Murray, 1880); E.C. Marchant and N. Banerji, "Smith, Philip (1813–1893)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

to be conversant in twenty) to translate later books himself. He reported to Murray that *Mycenae* was, in fact, composed first in English, and only later translated into German.²⁵³ It seems likely, then, that Smith's task was to improve the style of Schliemann's academic English.

Many of the editors appointed by Murray were already acquainted with the authors for whom they worked. George Percy Badger, a diplomat and scholar of Arabic, was offered the same fee as Smith, £200, for preparing and editing Hormuzd Rassam's *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia* (1869).²⁵⁴

Editor and author had longstanding connections: Rassam, an archaeologist born in Mosul, had initially learned English with the assistance of Badger's first wife Maria, and the archaeologist's older brother had married Badger's wife's sister.²⁵⁵

Notwithstanding the close family connection between author and editor, Badger was exceptionally well paid, ultimately earning £290 for his work. His was the highest fee paid to any editor of Murray's travel publications in the period 1860–1892, but no correspondence survives to indicate why the manuscript needed so much revision. Rassam's preface gives no indication of the nature of Badger's work, expressing only: "my thanks to my friend the Rev. George Percy Badger, not only for the kind manner in which he looked over and revised my Journal, but also for his valuable

²⁵³ NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 392. S. Merz, "An International Publishing Venture: The Making of Heinrich Schliemann's *Mycenae* in an International Context". MSc Thesis, Material Cultures and the History of the Book. (Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh, 2010).

²⁵⁴ NLS Ms 41914, p. 20. John Murray to Revd. George Percy Badger, November 3, 1868; G.J. Roper, "Badger, George Percy (1815–1888)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008); D. Wright, "Rassam, Hormuzd (1826–1910)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008); H. Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia* (London: John Murray, 1869).

²⁵⁵ Wright (2008).

assistance in carrying it through the press”.²⁵⁶ Ultimately, Murray’s investment in editing contributed to the commercial failure of Rassam’s *Narrative of the British Mission*. The publisher’s initial estimate of £210 for editing costs ballooned by more than a third to £290, and poor sales left the book more than £300 from covering its expenses by the time the last copies were disposed of in 1871.²⁵⁷

Consulting the Experts

While Badger was compensated for his work on Rassam’s book, some editors contributed their expertise, unpaid, to Murray’s travel publications. To maintain the credibility of author and publisher, books of travel were expected to be scientifically and geographically accurate as well as entertaining. Some authors chose family members or colleagues to help smooth the passage of their work through the press, but the assistance of key figures in the Royal Geographical Society was frequently requested by Murray’s authors.²⁵⁸ An expert could confirm an inexperienced traveller’s observations, and, if acknowledged in the book’s text, could provide support for claims which otherwise might be accounted incredible.

Editors consulted for their technical expertise were rarely paid by Murray, and consequently are largely invisible in Murray’s ledger books, particularly when

²⁵⁶ Rassam (1869), p. viii.

²⁵⁷ NLS Ms 42722, p. 28; NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 333.

²⁵⁸ The literature concerning the definition and development of scientific and geographical expertise is extensive. See R. Barton, “‘Men of Science’: Language, Identity and Professionalization in the Mid-Victorian Scientific Community”, *History of Science* 41:1(2003) 73–119; J.A. Secord, “How Scientific Conversation Became Shop Talk”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)* 17(2007) 129–156; J. Mussell, “Private Practices and Public Knowledge: Science, Professionalization and Gender in the Late Nineteenth Century”, *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 5:2(2009).

these revisions took place before an author submitted a manuscript to the publisher.²⁵⁹ However, authors often acknowledged the advice of experts in their prefaces. Frederick Whympers *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska* (1868) offers thanks “to Mr. H.W. Bates and Captain George; to Mr. Murray, and to my father and brother, for their constant and kind assistance”, yet the ledger for Whympers narrative records only fees paid to the Miltons for reading and editing.²⁶⁰ Thomas Belt, whose *Naturalist in Nicaragua* (1874) was declared by Charles Darwin to be “the best Nat. Hist. book of travels ever published”, consulted many of Britain’s most prominent naturalists while writing up his narrative.²⁶¹ In his preface, Belt acknowledged the assistance of these authorities: “I am indebted to Mr. H.W. Bates for much assistance, and especially for undertaking the superintendence of these sheets in their passage through the press; to Mr. W.C. Hewitson, of Oatlands Park, I am under many obligations for taking charge of my entomological collections, for naming many of my butterflies, and for access to his magnificent collection of Diurnal Lepidoptera”.²⁶² Belt went on to name and thank two ornithologists, three entomologists, and a professor of botany at Kew Gardens.²⁶³ By entering into dialogue with “these eminent authorities”, Belt emphasised the scientific accuracy of his narrative.

²⁵⁹ Murray may have compensated some editors with free copies of his publications, as he did for the Milton family. See NLS Ms 40829.

²⁶⁰ F. Whympers, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska* (London: John Murray, 1868). p. ix. NLS MS 42731(f), p. 321.

²⁶¹ C. Darwin, “Letter No. 9223, to Fritz Muller, January 1, 1874”, *Darwin Correspondence Project*.

²⁶² T. Belt, *The Naturalist in Nicaragua* (London: John Murray, 1874). p. vi–vii.

²⁶³ Belt (1874), p. vii.

The supervision of Henry Walter Bates, then Assistant Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society and one of the country's most prominent naturalists, was particularly important in authorising the book's geographical content.²⁶⁴ Although several of Belt's editors served primarily as fact-checking readers, rather than editors of narrative content, the acknowledgement of Bates indicates that the line between scientific and textual editing could easily be blurred. Belt could not supervise the printing of his own manuscript: one of only two of his letters preserved in the John Murray Archive announces that Belt would "probably leave England for Russia in three weeks [*sic*] time".²⁶⁵ Bates, therefore, was left responsible not only for correcting the manuscript, but reading Belt's proofs, helping make decisions about illustration and binding, and ensuring that no errors had been committed in the printing process.

Belt's *Naturalist in Nicaragua* was not the only book of travels for which Henry Walter Bates served as editor. Bates, who had published his commercially successful and critically well-received *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* with Murray in 1863, had been initially recommended as an author to Murray by Charles Darwin.²⁶⁶ Bates' prominent post in the Royal Geographical Society confirmed his credentials as a distinguished scholarly geographer as well as an experienced traveller. Recommending authors as well as editing manuscripts, Bates had a substantial influence on Murray's publications.²⁶⁷ Disappointingly, however, only 26

²⁶⁴ NLS Ms 40084, Thomas Belt to John Murray, July 10, 1873. J. Dickenson, "Bates, Henry Walter (1825–1892)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

²⁶⁵ NLS Ms 40084, Thomas Belt to John Murray, September 9, 1873.

²⁶⁶ NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, January 31, 1862.

²⁶⁷ See, for example, NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, October 6, 1884. Bates describes Mr H.O. Forbes, who has proposed a new book of travels in

letters from Bates to Murray survive in the John Murray Archive.²⁶⁸ The two men met regularly to discuss the business of the Royal Geographical Society; these in-person conversations would have been more efficient than a constant stream of letters, but leave no written record of their content.

The John Murray Archive reveals nothing at all about Bates' work on Edward Whymper's *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator* (1891), which he is credited with editing. However, correspondence in the Royal Geographical Society archive between Whymper and Bates substantiates this relationship.²⁶⁹ Whymper wrote to Bates several times while still travelling in South America, and a letter at the time of the book's publication thanks Bates: "It is right and proper that the first copy sent out should be sent to you, as without your cordial and valuable assistance the book could not have appeared".²⁷⁰ Surviving correspondence between the two men suggests that Bates acted as manager of the book's production and publicity, leaving Whymper, a professional wood engraver, free to concentrate on the illustrations.

Bates' most substantial editing project for Murray was the complete reworking of Paul Du Chaillu's journals of a second expedition into equatorial Africa. Du Chaillu was a tremendously popular author. Between 1861 and 1890, Murray published four books of his travels which sold more than 15,000 copies in total. Du Chaillu became famous for introducing Europe to the gorilla, lecturing at

the Eastern Archipelago, as "a very good botanist and anthropologist and has made interesting discoveries... a good Geographer".

²⁶⁸ See NLS Ms 40068.

²⁶⁹ E. Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator* (London: John Murray, 1891). NLS Ms 40068.

²⁷⁰ RGS Archives, CB7: Edward Whymper. Letter to Henry Walter Bates, September 10, 1891.

the Royal Institution with stuffed specimens he had collected on a four-year journey into equatorial Africa. (The cost of the stuffing was initially paid by Murray, and was factored into the production expenses for Du Chaillu's first book.)²⁷¹ Heated debate between members of the Royal Geographical Society, and the wider public, about the credibility of the explorer's reports only added to the market for Du Chaillu's narratives.²⁷² Murray printed 10,000 copies of the first edition of *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (1861), and Du Chaillu's two-thirds share of the profits amounted to more than £2500.²⁷³ Murray's role in the production of this first book was unusually straightforward, since the text was edited and typeset in America. Du Chaillu's New York publisher, Harper & Brothers, sent Murray electrotypes of the text, so Murray was required to coordinate only the illustrations and binding.²⁷⁴ When Du Chaillu returned from Africa to publish his second book of travels, *Journey to Ashango-Land and Further Penetration into Equatorial Africa* (1866), he chose to edit the manuscript in Britain.²⁷⁵

Despite his extraordinary public recognition, Du Chaillu was neither a trained scientist nor a practiced author, which made both his geographical reports and his

²⁷¹ Mandelstam (1994).

²⁷² J. Miller, "Representation, Race, and the Zoological Real in the Great Gorilla Controversy of 1861" in *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840–1910*, ed. J. Kember, J. Plunkett and J.A. Sullivan (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012) 153–166; H.H. Bucher, Jr, "Canonization by Repetition: Paul Du Chaillu in Historiography", *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 66:242–243(1979) 15–32.

²⁷³ Mandelstam (1994); McCook (1996); P.B. Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (London: John Murray, 1861). RGS Archives, JMS 1/82. "A Remembrance of Du Chaillu" signed T.L.G.; NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 141–142, 230; NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 340.

²⁷⁴ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 141.

²⁷⁵ P.B. Du Chaillu, *Journey to Ashango-Land: And Further Penetration into Equatorial Africa* (London: John Murray, 1867).

popular narratives a challenge to publish.²⁷⁶ Francis Galton complained that Du Chaillu's submission of a paper to the RGS Journal was "unfortunately little more than a personal narrative of his very adventurous journey... accompanied by a large number of latitudes and longitudes" which, Galton admitted, "have been most carefully made".²⁷⁷ Galton recommended that Du Chaillu be given an opportunity to "insert more geography into it", and to add a map and a table of observations.²⁷⁸ A map and four pages of tables were duly included in Du Chaillu's paper, which attempted to explain its minimal geographical content with a narrative of panicked escape from villagers pursuing the expedition with spears and poisoned arrows. Du Chaillu lamented: "my precious instruments, collections of natural history, photographs of scenery and natives, note-books and goods scattered... the work of many months irrecoverably lost".²⁷⁹ Some of Du Chaillu's observations must have survived to produce the tables published by the RGS, but the loss of so many notes made composing a longer version of the expedition narrative a challenge.

Du Chaillu submitted a draft of *Journey to Ashango-Land* to Murray early in 1866. John Milton was paid £14 for a first reading of the manuscript, but Murray turned to Henry Walter Bates in order to bring Du Chaillu's narrative up to a publishable standard.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ C.W.J. Withers, *Geography and Science in Britain, 1831–1939: A Study of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

²⁷⁷ RGS Archive, JMS 1/89. Francis Galton, Report on Du Chaillu's "Second Journey into Western Equatorial Africa", February 10, 1866.

²⁷⁸ RGS Archive, JMS 1/89. Francis Galton, Report on Du Chaillu's "Second Journey into Western Equatorial Africa", February 10, 1866.

²⁷⁹ P.B. Du Chaillu, "Second Journey into Equatorial Western Africa", *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 36(1866) 64–76. p. 71.

²⁸⁰ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 399.

I understand from Mr. du Chaillu that you have decyphered [*sic*] a large part of his M.S. and find it full of facts and interesting. If this be the case, and you think it will form a publication acceptable to general readers I shall be happy to give you One Hundred Guineas for editing, revising and where necessary re-writing the journals so as to fit them for publication. Part of your task will consist in eliciting viva voce by questioning, explanations of obscure passages, additional facts and details to give interest to a day journal. Du Chaillu is delighted to think he has the prospect of being in your hands, and I cannot doubt that you will work well together... It is quite obvious that unless there is good stuff and new information in Du Chaillu's notes, it would be wasting your time and my money to attempt to fit it for publication and would moreover be injurious to the author's reputation — gained by his former Travels.²⁸¹

Murray's word choice suggests that there was sufficient novel content to be "deciphered" from Du Chaillu's surviving journals, but that the task of readying them for publication would be considerable. One hundred guineas was an enormous sum compared to the ten or twenty pounds Murray usually paid to the Miltons for minor adjustments of style. Du Chaillu's popularity and profitability was obvious from sales of his first book, which would have made Murray willing to invest heavily in the success of a second volume of African travels. Two days after sending his enquiry, Murray received a letter from Bates, accepting the proposal but cautioning the publisher about the potential for commercial success. The journals would need major editing in style and length, but even with these revisions, Bates worried, the narrative might not be of sufficient interest:

I hardly like assuming the responsibility of giving advice in the matter and believe that you are in a far better position to judge than myself. If however I must give an opinion of the MS

²⁸¹ NLS Ms 41913, p. 261. John Murray to Henry Walter Bates, February 7, 1866.

Journals, I am obliged to say that a book composed of such journals or even abridgements of them would not be likely to be well-received by the public. There is a total absence of those descriptions of the country which make a book of travel interesting and a general superabundance of trivial personal matters, tedious “palavers” with natives, and monotonous tales of witchcraft, which, I should think, would weary the patience of any reader. There is however plenty of... interesting information to be got out of M. Du Chaillu *viva voce* and the narrative itself has several salient points which might be worked up as to become very effective. As to the probability of a large sale I would suggest for your consideration the fact of the very great personal interest and curiosity still taken by a large portion of the public in M. Du Chaillu, witness the crowded audience he had at Burlington House. I send by book post a copy of his paper, as doctored up by myself. You will be able to judge by it of the type of thing we may expect.²⁸²

Murray agreed to take the risk of publication, and asked Bates to begin the process of editing Du Chaillu’s rough notes into a coherent narrative. Evidently, Bates relied heavily on Du Chaillu’s oral recollections of his journey in order to fill in gaps in the narrative, and to add descriptive passages not included in the traveller’s in-the-field notes. Months later, however, Bates complained to Murray that he could not pin down Du Chaillu for a meeting in order to obtain the necessary information.²⁸³

Du Chaillu’s narrative was not ready in time for the prime bookselling season in the autumn of 1866, instead appearing at the end of January 1867.²⁸⁴ Murray printed a conservative number of copies of the first edition, just 2,000 in comparison with 10,000 of Du Chaillu’s first book, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (1861).²⁸⁵ This smaller number proved prudent, as a second edition was not

²⁸² NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, February 9, 1866.

²⁸³ NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, July 7, 1866.

²⁸⁴ NLS Ms 42771, January 30, 1867.

²⁸⁵ Du Chaillu (1861).

required: Murray still had a few copies on hand as late as 1881.²⁸⁶ The timing of *Ashango-Land*'s publication dampened initial sales, but the narrative itself was poorly received, compounding Du Chaillu's issues of credibility. Bates was a successful author in his own right, but the conflict between his measured, academic style and Du Chaillu's sensationalistic tendencies resulted in an awkward narrative. An obituary noted: "[the book] had been handed in the rough to a 'literary gent' who knew as little about Africa as Du Chaillu knew about style, and the skeptics were reinforced."²⁸⁷

By the time Du Chaillu was preparing his next book of travels for Murray, the Scandinavian journals which became *The Land of the Midnight Sun* (1881), he had substantially more experience as an author. He had adapted his African notes into several books for children, all published in America, including *Stories of the Gorilla Country* (1867) and *Wild Life Under the Equator* (1869).²⁸⁸ Du Chaillu makes no mention of working with an editor, but had clearly learned from his collaboration with Bates, acknowledging the need for arrangement and organisation, as well as novelty of subject, in an early letter to Murray:

The success of a book... will depend on my happy treatment of it, and on the material and opportunities which preceding writers have not pondered[?]. As regards the happy treatment I will try my best, as for material I have so much of it, that it is a source of great trouble to me at times for I have to leave a great deal of it, and the literary arrangements of the journeys is often

²⁸⁶ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 399.

²⁸⁷ RGS Archives, JMS/21/75. "A Remembrance of Du Chaillu", typescript signed T.L.G. 1903.

²⁸⁸ P.B. Du Chaillu, *Stories of the Gorilla Country, Narrated for Young People* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1867); P.B. Du Chaillu, *Wild Life under the Equator, Narrated for Young People* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869).

by no means easy, for above all I must have clearness, and a sort of continuity...²⁸⁹

Although Du Chaillu's *Journey to Ashango-Land* was not as commercially successful as author and publisher had hoped, Murray offered Bates for another major editing task in the following year. Writing to the naturalist about a proposed translation of Baron Karl Klaus Von der Decken's narrative of travels in Africa, Murray declared:

I must trust entirely to your experience and good judgment to decide whether a volume, original and calculated to interest English readers, can be formed out of the diffuseness of v. der Decken's Travels. Having now got 300 pages you may be able to decide this question. It wd. be useless to repeat an old story, but when he explored new countries, and when he underwent adventures some of which must be surely strange and exciting: his text will be worth preserving... I am willing to remunerate you at the rate of 4 guineas a sheet for your labor.²⁹⁰

The publisher's correspondence demonstrates that concerns about the need for major editing could derail publication. For a standard octavo volume with sixteen pages per printed sheet, Bates' fee would come to 75 guineas for a book of 300 pages. This payment represented a large fraction of the average cost of production for a new work of travels, particularly in comparison to the ten to twenty pounds usually paid to the Miltons for more modest editing services. Bates and Murray evidently decided against publication, and no English translation of Von der Decken's travels appeared before the end of the century.

²⁸⁹ NLS Ms 40206, Paul B. Du Chaillu to John Murray, October 2, 1875. ff. 109–110.

²⁹⁰ Ms 41913, p. 7. August 6, 1868. JM to Henry Walter Bates.

While Bates undertook no major editing projects for Murray after *Journey to Ashango-Land*, a few of the publisher's other travellers went on to become editors, using knowledge from their own journeys, as well as literary experience, to guide the works of other travellers through the press. In 1889, three years after Murray published Francis Henry Hill Guillemard's *The Cruise of the Marchesa to Kamschatka and New Guinea*, Murray made the author an offer to edit a new edition of Charles Darwin's *Journal of Researches*, which Murray had first published in 1845.²⁹¹ Murray proposed a payment of fifty guineas for "such explanatory or illustrative notes, as may serve to show where recent researches have confirmed or disproved Mr. Darwin's theories and observations, and where any new classification may render the identification of any animal or object mentioned in the text difficult".²⁹² Guillemard's work on *The Cruise of the Marchesa* was certainly a factor in his selection: Murray had written to the New York publisher D. Appleton and Company several months earlier, mentioning the *Marchesa* as an example of the sort of quality production he planned for the illustrated *Journal of Researches*.²⁹³ Furthermore, Guillemard, a naturalist and long-time fellow of the Royal Geographical Society who had been elected the University of Cambridge's first Reader in Geography in 1888, was eminently qualified to fulfil the technical

²⁹¹ F.H.H. Guillemard, *The Cruise of the Marchesa to Kamschatka & New Guinea: With Notices of Formosa, Liu-Kiu, and Various Islands of the Malay Archipelago* (London: John Murray, 1886); C. Darwin, *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited During the Voyage Round the World of H.M.S. Beagle under the Command of Captain Fitz Roy* (London: John Murray, 1845).

²⁹² NLS Ms 41916 p. 44, John Murray IV to Francis Guillemard, July 12, 1889.

²⁹³ Ms 41916, p. 40, John Murray IV to D. Appleton. April 17, 1889.

demands of such a role.²⁹⁴ However, Guillemard was not Murray's first choice: Murray had offered Charles Darwin's son Francis the same honorarium of fifty guineas to bring the *Journal of Researches* up to date, but Darwin refused the publisher's offer.²⁹⁵ The new edition appeared in 1890 to good reviews, but in a form different than the one Murray had proposed to Guillemard — an illustrated edition, but without substantial annotations to the text.²⁹⁶ Murray had re-envisioned the work for a popular rather than a scholarly audience, and Guillemard's services were unnecessary.

Guillemard did eventually undertake some editing work for Murray, but not until nearly ten years later. He sent the publisher a long, newsy note in 1899, remarking: "you might bear me in mind — that is to say if you think me worthy — if you come across anything in the way of editing likely to do for me. What I have long wished to do is to 'read' for publishing but some things are not easy to obtain. I have read for the University Press, but they do not publish much in the way of Travels".²⁹⁷ Murray did keep Guillemard in mind: the author was paid for evaluating four manuscripts over the following year. And in 1900, Murray offered Guillemard a more substantial task: editing a posthumous edition of Henry Seebohm's narratives of ornithological research in Siberia.²⁹⁸ Guillemard oversaw the book's publication

²⁹⁴ E. H., "Obituary: Francis Henry Hill Guillemard", *The Geographical Journal* 83:4(1934) 350–352. D.R. Stoddart, *On Geography and Its History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

²⁹⁵ NLS Ms 41916, p. 41. May 3, 1889.

²⁹⁶ C. Darwin, *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited During the Voyage Round the World of H.M.S. Beagle under the Command of Captain Fitz Roy* (London: John Murray, 1890).

²⁹⁷ NLS Ms 40497, Francis Henry Hill Guillemard to John Murray, October 3, 1899.

²⁹⁸ NLS Ms 40497, Francis Henry Hill Guillemard to John Murray, June 8, 1900. *The Birds of Siberia* (1901) collected Seebohm's *Siberia in Europe* (1880) and *Siberia in Asia* (1882).

and wrote a preface, but was reluctant to be named as editor on the title page.

Writing to Murray, he protested: “I had rather disliked the idea of appearing as Editor, as I by no means agree ornithologically with all S’s opinions”.²⁹⁹ He agreed to be credited, however, as long as a comment noting his scientific disagreement could be included in the preface.

Travels Away from Print: Editing Authors Abroad

When an author was engaged in further (or continuing) travels away from Murray’s offices in London, a relative, friend, professional acquaintance, or other editor was often asked to see a manuscript through the press. While the efficient postal system made it possible for authors in outlying areas of the British Isles to correspond with Murray, and to revise their proofs during the printing process, it was difficult for authors travelling further abroad to manage these tasks efficiently enough to satisfy the time constraints of the publishing cycle.³⁰⁰ In most of these cases, the author had independently completed a draft manuscript but was unable to make further corrections requested by Murray’s readers, or to edit the proofs in press. If the author could not suggest a suitable person to undertake the task of managing the publication, Murray would recommend an editor.

Colonel Sir Henry Yule was asked several times by Murray to edit the manuscripts of authors abroad. Yule served as an officer of the East India Company for more than twenty years, and his edition of the travels of Marco Polo, published

²⁹⁹ NLS Ms 40497, Francis Henry Hill Guillemard to John Murray, August 5, 1900.

³⁰⁰ See Dooley (1992).

by Murray in 1871, earned him the Founder's Medal of the RGS.³⁰¹ Yule helped see William Gill's *The River of Golden Sand* (1883) through the press, writing a preface to the two-volume narrative.³⁰² Gill had been called to duty in Constantinople by the War Office, and had no time to correct proofs before he left England.³⁰³ *The River of Golden Sand* received the input of yet another editor when an abridged version was published after Gill's death in 1882. Yule updated Gill's preface and inserted a "brief" thirty-page biographical memoir, but declined the task of condensing the lengthy narrative into one volume. Edward Colborne Baber, "one of Captain Gill's most intimate and valued friends", and a travelling companion who had accompanied Gill on his journey and had a "unique knowledge of Western China and the adjoining hill-country", was responsible for the abridgement.³⁰⁴ Yule's preface indicates that the author's sister provided the impetus for the printing of a posthumous edition, but the endeavour was not a success for Murray. Despite profits of more than £100 on the first edition of Gill's travels, which was printed in just 750 copies and priced at 30s., Murray lost more than £140 on the abridged edition, of which the publisher printed an optimistic 1250 copies to be priced at 7s. 6d.³⁰⁵

The unpredictability of travel could complicate a publishing schedule and confound attempts to appoint an editor. Murray discovered this to be so in the case of Robert Shaw, who was posted to India during the publication of his *Visits to high*

³⁰¹ H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East* (London: John Murray, 1871); F. Driver, "Yule, Sir Henry (1820–1889)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

³⁰² Gill (1879).

³⁰³ Ms 41915, p. 32. John Murray to William Gill, March 1879.

³⁰⁴ W.J. Gill, *The River of Golden Sand: Being the Narrative of a Journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah* (London: John Murray, 1883). p. 3.

³⁰⁵ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 3.

Tartary, Yârkand, and Kâshghar (formerly Chinese Tartary), and return journey over the Karakoram Pass (1871). Shaw was well aware of the need for an English editor, having compiled his manuscript on board a steamer en route to India: he had been unexpectedly called to join an group of British officers on a “friendly visit to the Atalik-Ghazee, or King of Eastern Toorkistan” shortly after arriving back in England from his first expedition.³⁰⁶ When the steamer arrived in India, Shaw sent his manuscript back to Murray in London to be published under the supervision of a friend who could edit the manuscript and proofs. Writing from Camp Kooloo, in the Punjab, Shaw declared:

I am at last able to send you my MS. I fear you have never received such an untidy looking one before, but hope there will be no difficulty in making it out. A friend of mine, now in London Mr. Lyall, has kindly promised to give his assistance in correcting and revising. As he has been for several years employed as a frontier officer in this quarter, his assistance will be most valuable.³⁰⁷

Murray corresponded with Lyall, an administrator in the Indian Civil Service, and the two met in person to discuss the organisation of Shaw’s work.³⁰⁸ An editor familiar with the area of an author’s travels was an invaluable resource, since foreign names mistranscribed by printers could be a source of professional embarrassment. Shaw provided Murray with a helpful list, reminding him of some of the most common names: “...I have corrected most of them in a distinct maner [*sic*], but a

³⁰⁶ R. Shaw, *Visits to High Tartary, Yârkand, and Kâshghar (Formerly Chinese Tartary), and Return Journey over the Karakoram Pass*. (London: John Murray, 1871). p. v.

³⁰⁷ NLS Ms 40182, Robert Shaw to John Murray, June 23, 1870.

³⁰⁸ Sir James Broadwood Lyall (1838–1915). See British Library Mss Eur F132, Papers of Sir Alfred Lyall, Bengal Civil Service 1856–87, Member of Council of India 1888–1903; and of other members of the Lyall family.

good many recur a great many times in abbreviated forms, of which the following is a list. YB for Yoozbashee, PB for Panjabashee...”.³⁰⁹ With a few notes about map and illustrations, Shaw left all other matters to the discretion of Lyall and Murray in June of 1870, concluding: “I hope to write to you from some further point on the road as you suggested to me but as there may be a difficulty about this I trust the publication will not be delayed after November even should my communication not arrive. I am travelling very fast and shall leave the last vestige of civilisation tomorrow”.³¹⁰

Despite Shaw’s assurances to Murray about the reliability of his editor, Lyall and Murray struggled to complete the necessary revisions without Shaw’s input. The complicated relationship between diary, manuscript, proof and published work becomes evident in Lyall’s correspondence. Lyall wrote to Murray: “I send herewith the proof sheets, one copy of which I have revised, also the original manuscript, and the rough diary”. After some discussion, Lyall and Murray determined to send the diary as well as the printed proofs back to Shaw in India for corrections and additions, postponing publication in favour of the chance for superior accuracy and the author’s validation. The cost of posting the manuscript back and forth to Shaw was high enough that Murray took the unusual step of adding a charge of £1.4s.5d. for “postage and carriage” into the book’s accounts in his ledger.³¹¹

Ultimately, the publication of *Visits to High Tartary* was delayed for a full year beyond Shaw’s anticipated date of November 1870, and the manuscript made a further three journeys between England and India before publication. When he

³⁰⁹ NLS Ms 40182, Robert Shaw to John Murray, June 23, 1870.

³¹⁰ NLS Ms 40182, Robert Shaw to John Murray, June 23, 1870.

³¹¹ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 367.

returned to India unexpectedly early from his second expedition into the mountains, Shaw requested his manuscript back from Murray so that he could bestow the “last cares” himself.³¹² The speed of the mail between India and Britain further complicated matters: a letter from Lyall sent in November 1871 had not reached Shaw until January of the following year, and a letter from Murray, posted at about the same time as Lyall’s, did not arrive until late February.

Delays brought on by demands of an active career and the speed of communication between England and India were further compounded by Shaw’s ill health. Writing from Lahore in February of 1871, Shaw complained of an attack of rheumatic fever: “I have been working at the Book since I have been able to work at all, yet I fear there will be some delay”.³¹³ Three months later, Shaw sent Murray further chapters from *Dharamsala*, wondering:

There remains an account of the second journey which I fear will not be ready for some time, as I am obliged to start for Ladak this week in order to take up my new appointment and shall only be able to write by scraps on the journey. But I have already written to you on this subject and should be very glad if you find that you had sufficient matter to publish without waiting for this. You may count upon its being sent to you whenever I can get it finished, but I fear this will not be in time to publish this season, and it will be no great loss as far as subject-matter goes.³¹⁴

The letter also acknowledged the assistance of Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth, who corresponded with both Murray and Shaw in 1880, offering corrections to the final

³¹² NLS Ms 40182, Robert Shaw to John Murray, February 21, 1871.

³¹³ NLS Ms 40182, Robert Shaw to John Murray, February 21, 1871.

³¹⁴ NLS Ms 40182, Robert Shaw to John Murray, April 2, 1871.

manuscript and agreeing to see the sheets through the press.³¹⁵ Forsyth had unusual expertise in the area of Shaw's travels, having undertaken a six-month journey to Yarkand two years previously.³¹⁶ Murray also enlisted the advice of Henry Yule, who read the proofs, adjusted the division of chapters, inserted chapter headings, and corrected a number of other minor errors. Yule deemed Shaw an "excellent writer", anticipating the sale of the book would be "a good deal below Vambéry's, but very much above Bickmore's *Archipelago* or Collingwood's *China*".³¹⁷ Yule's correspondence with Murray reveals the depth of his involvement in the editorial process, but also the extent of Murray's ties to the geographical community and the degree of expertise upon which the publisher could draw in preparing manuscripts for print.

The editorial assistance of Forsyth and Yule was critical, as Shaw correctly anticipated that he would have little chance to write further: his next letter to Murray was not for another seven months. Unsure of the publisher's intentions, Shaw continued to compose additional material after finishing the chapters describing his first journey. Writing from Ladak in November of 1871, Shaw acknowledged the difficulty in coordinating the editing and publication of a manuscript from such a distance: "...[I] had filled a number of sheets of MS when I received a letter from

³¹⁵ NLS Ms 40416, Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth to John Murray, May 30, 1871.

³¹⁶ K. Prior, "Forsyth, Sir (Thomas) Douglas (1827–1886)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

³¹⁷ NLS Ms 41319, Henry Yule to John Murray, September 19, 1871. Yule refers to three other narratives of travel published by Murray: A. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia* (London: John Murray, 1864); A.S. Bickmore, *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago* (London: John Murray, 1868); C. Collingwood, *Rambles of a Naturalist on the Shores and Waters of the China Sea: Being Observations in Natural History During a Voyage to China, Formosa, Borneo, Singapore, Etc., Made in Her Majesty's Vessels in 1866 and 1867* (London: John Murray, 1868).

Mr. T.D. Forsyth telling me that he had been kindly correcting the proofs of my Book which was now quite ready for publication”.³¹⁸ Shaw was too late to include these additional writings in his book: *Visits to High Tartary* appears in Murray’s publication ledger just three weeks later.³¹⁹ Murray had pressed on with printing in order to ensure that the book was ready in time for the late autumn publishing season.

Despite miscommunications about the inclusion of additional material, the complications of editing his manuscript became a point of pride for Shaw, as well as a way to support the authenticity of his account. The author’s preface begins by announcing: “It is necessary that I should say a few words to explain the late appearance of my book”.³²⁰ Shaw goes on to describe the manuscript’s five intercontinental journeys in detail, accounting for the delays in its publication and evolution from “a journal written from day to day... almost illegible to any one [*sic*] but myself” to published book.³²¹ Despite the substantial assistance of Forsyth and the involvement of Lyall, neither editor is credited on the book’s title page or in Shaw’s preface. While a recognisable editor like Bates might support a book’s scientific credentials, the efforts of two mid-level diplomats in reading and correcting the manuscript went unacknowledged. Shaw and Murray produced a text and paratext which concentrated attention on the singular accomplishments of the work’s author.

³¹⁸ NLS Ms 40182, Robert Shaw to John Murray, November 6, 1871.

³¹⁹ NLS Ms 42771, November 21, 1871.

³²⁰ Shaw (1871), p. v.

³²¹ Shaw (1871), p. v.

Date	Author	Title	Editor
1861	Robert Wilson (1777–1849)	<i>Private diary of Travels, Personal Services and Public Events</i>	Rev. Herbert Randolph, MA
1864	Henri Mouhot (1826–1861)	<i>Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China</i>	C.K. Greville [translator]
1865	Samuel MacPherson (1806–1860)	<i>Memorials of Service in India</i>	William MacPherson
1869	Henry Herbert, 3rd Earl of Carnarvon (1800–1849)	<i>Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea</i>	Henry Herbert, 4th Earl of Carnarvon
1870	Herbert Meade (1842–1868)	<i>A Ride Through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand</i>	Robert Henry Meade
1874	David Livingstone (1813–1873)	<i>The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa</i>	Horace Waller
1879	James Elton (1840–1877)	<i>Travels and Researches Among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa</i>	H.B. Cotterill
1881	George Paget (1818–1880)	<i>The Light Cavalry Brigade in the Crimea</i>	Cecil Stratford Paget

Table 4.1: Posthumously published narratives of travel brought out by John Murray, 1860–1892.

Posthumous Publication

Murray reissued a number works of travel, including Gill's *The River of Golden Sand*, upon the death of their authors. But between 1860 and 1892, Murray brought out nine narratives of travel and exploration whose authors (all male) did not survive to see even the first edition of their manuscripts in print. [Table 4.1] In the case of these posthumous publications, a supervising editor was required for the substantial task of organising the deceased traveller's notes into a coherent narrative, in addition to seeing the manuscript through the press.

In some cases, an author's family completed the organisation of his diaries and notes into a publishable narrative. Frequently, however, the family would turn to Murray for advice on a suitable editor, with expert knowledge of the region in question, to assist with this process. The cost of paying for such an involved undertaking, however, could make a substantial dent in a book's profits. The best-researched example of this process in Murray's later nineteenth-century publications

is that of David Livingstone, who died in Africa of malaria and dysentery in 1873. Livingstone's journals were returned to Britain by his attendants, and prompt publication was imperative. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* (1857) had been a phenomenal success, with more than forty thousand copies printed; the well-publicised death of such a sensationally successful author, and the survival of his in-the-field notes, was an extraordinary opportunity for Murray.³²² Murray asked the Rev. Horace Waller to compile Livingstone's last journals into a publishable manuscript. Waller, an abolitionist, missionary, prominent fellow of the RGS, and successful Murray author, was particularly suited to edit Livingstone's journals since he had substantial experience in Africa. Murray wrote to Waller explaining the task:

You will necessarily be called upon to see it through the press and there are some questions of omission and insertion... The later narrative will, as you are already aware, require greater care and labour on the Editor's part, owing to the disjointed condition of the M.S.S. and the difficulty of deciphering parts of it. Besides this, to the Editor will devolve the duty of writing the account of the last days and journeys of the lamented traveller down to his death as far as it can be derived from his faithful Black attendants. This ought obviously to be narrated in as simple a style as possible — as becomes the character of the hero of the work, equally obvious is it that as few changes as possible should be made in what he has written.³²³

Murray offered Waller £250 for his work on the *Last Journals* (1874), a substantial sum which far exceeded the total profit Murray made on most of the travel books he published.³²⁴ In comparison, Murray's reader John Milton had been paid just £18.8s.

³²² Driver (2013); A.D. Roberts, "Livingstone, David (1813–1873)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008); Helly (1987); Livingstone (2015).

³²³ Ms 41914, p. 198. John Murray to Rev. Horace Waller, July 17, 1874.

³²⁴ Ms 41914, p. 198. John Murray to Rev. Horace Waller, July 17, 1874. This letter also notes that Livingstone's two African companions, upon whose testimony Waller

for reading and editing Livingstone's earlier *Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its tributaries*, which Murray had published in 1865.³²⁵ Such a large financial investment in editing was justified in Livingstone's case, though, since the explorer's fame made his narrative a near-guaranteed success.³²⁶ Murray's investment in Waller's work was rewarded with more than a thousand pounds profit for the publisher.

Five years after Waller edited Livingstone's *Last Journals*, Murray called upon him again, this time to write a preface to James F. Elton's *Travels and researches among the lakes and mountains of Eastern and Central Africa* (1879). Elton died of malaria and dysentery in Tanzania; his journals were returned to England by his travelling companions Herbert Rhodes and H.B. Cotterill. Waller wrote to Bates in March of 1878, admiring the geographical quality and visual attractiveness of Elton's journals:

All Elton's writings are saved with innumerable beautiful drawings &c. There is matter to write a First Class book on the connecting link wh. fills up the exploration of Africa from North to South... The poor fellow wished me to edit the travels he made between Zanzibar and Moçambique [*sic*] and I know that [?] have all the papers, but the [£]7.0. would not pay the cost and I thought it would better to wait till he came home as then he would probably be able to do the work himself... I repeat that there is material for a work second to none, and it would be well for the society to father a book just now which

drew extensively, were offered just £5 per week by the publisher for their help in composing the narrative.

³²⁵ Ms 42731(f), p. 357. Though exceptionally successful by Murray's usual standards, *Zambesi* was not quite so popular as its predecessor; Murray printed a mere 5000 copies, and the publisher's one-third share of profits came to about £380.

³²⁶ The editorial interventions to Livingstone's two earlier narratives, and the author's objections to them, have been extensively documented in Driver (2013) and Keighren *et al.* (2015).

shall contrast favourably with other bunkum going through the press and show besides how its members unlike other filibusters can explore and afford valuable information.³²⁷

Elton's journal was first considered for publication as an official government Blue Book, a report format notorious for unwieldy presentation and huge appendices of raw data.³²⁸ However, Waller worried that the narrative would be too long for that format, and wrote to Bates within a week of his first letter suggesting that the journals be worked up for commercial publication. Waller was obviously enthusiastic about the quality of Elton's diary and had high hopes for its profitability:

The sketches accompanying the Diary are the best I have ever seen as rough sketches of a traveller... I repeat that there is a chance of publishing a rare and most exhaustive work on the interior and exterior of the portion of Central Africa lying between Zanzibar and Zimbabwe written by a man too who was facile princeps with his pen and pencil above modern travellers, for I bear in mind that Livingstone's pencil was a poor one, tho his pen will never be surpassed.³²⁹

Despite his high opinion of the journals, Waller also expressed concern that the bulk of material and the heft of its geographical content might make Elton's narrative too dense for a popular audience: "publishers may rather hesitate when they remember how hard it is to make solid stuff sell".³³⁰ Murray relied on distinguished, but not necessarily profitable works to maintain his reputation as a preeminent publisher of

³²⁷ RGS Archives, CB 6. Horace Waller to Henry Walter Bates, March 8, 1878.

³²⁸ A. Fyfe, "The Information Revolution" in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. D. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 567–594.

³²⁹ RGS Archives, CB6. Horace Waller to Henry Walter Bates, March 13, 1878.

³³⁰ RGS Archives, CB6. Horace Waller to Henry Walter Bates, March 13, 1878.

geographical literature. As such, he could be relied upon to occasionally ignore the “vexations and calculations of mere business enterprise”.³³¹

Though Waller provided the impetus for publishing Elton’s journals, he was not directly responsible for their editing. H.B. Cotterill, Elton’s travelling companion, was asked to prepare the journals for publication. Waller’s preface to the finished narrative prominently identifies Cotterill’s authority and expertise. As the author’s companion on his last expedition, Waller writes, Cotterill is “far better qualified to lay before the public a careful selection from the notes and sketch-books of Captain Elton than any one else, and we have, as a result of his painstaking editing, a description of adventures in East Africa, most of which he himself might otherwise have recorded”.³³² Cotterill had kept his own journals and observations of the expedition with the intent to publish them. In accepting Murray’s offer to edit Elton’s manuscript, Cotterill also agreed to refrain from publishing his own.³³³

Choosing to bring only one of the expedition’s narratives to print was a prudent business decision: combining two travellers’ journals would produce a single narrative with the advantage of giving a more complete account of the expedition. It would also negate the risk of a competing account brought out by a different publisher, which could harm Murray’s sales. Cotterill may have resented the decision to favour Elton’s narrative over his own, though. One biographer has suggested that the editor may have intentionally “excluded important matters out of personal

³³¹ RGS Archives, CB6. Horace Waller to Henry Walter Bates, March 13, 1878.

³³² J.F. Elton, *Travels and Researches among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa* (London: John Murray, 1879). p. x.

³³³ Elton (1879), p. x.

pique”.³³⁴ Furthermore, Murray’s ledgers record a payment of £8.15s. to Milton for reading the manuscript, but no direct payment to Cotterill for his editing work.³³⁵

Although Cotterill may have been compensated by some other source, the lack of substantial payment for his work, compounded by the loss of potential income from publishing his own journals, could certainly have led to a disgruntled state of affairs. Murray conserved his financial resources by avoiding payment to Elton’s editor, but mediocre sales meant that Murray still lost more than £200 on the venture.³³⁶

Conclusions

Most of the travellers whose books Murray published “were professional and literate men and women”, but they were often not professionally literary.³³⁷ While Murray often rejected works which would require major editing, manuscripts were occasionally so novel in subject matter as to guarantee a good sale and repay the cost of hiring an editor.

As this chapter has made clear, the people who edited the narratives of travel which Murray published in the later nineteenth century came from a variety of backgrounds, and their tasks varied widely: minor corrections of narrative style, reorganisation of a manuscript’s structure, even compiling a narrative from the unfinished notes of a deceased traveller.

³³⁴ N. Etherington, “Frederic Elton and the South African Factor in the Making of Britain’s East African Empire”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 9:3(1981) 255–274. p. 273.

³³⁵ Ms 42732(g), p. 279.

³³⁶ Ms 42732(g), p. 279.

³³⁷ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 53.

In some cases, the author could perform the necessary work on his or her own. Alternatively, they could consult a friend or more experienced colleague, or might rely on an editor appointed by Murray to do the work on their behalf. Furthermore, a particularly distinguished editor could help confirm the geographical authority of a new work.³³⁸ All these practices were complicated by the fact that authors often continued to travel during the editing process, disrupting and delaying Murray's schedule. In some cases, an author's distance from London could make it impossible to carry on a regular correspondence with the publisher and to see a book through the press.

The distinctions between books which were edited for literary style, for scientific content, and for narrative structure, are necessarily fuzzy. Correspondence between publisher, authors, editors, demonstrates the network of scholarship Murray developed in order to manage the complexity of the narratives of travel he published. Murray drew on these resources, as well as an equally complex network of craftsmen — printers, illustrators, and binders — to manage the production of paratext and to facilitate the shaping of narratives into printed books.

³³⁸ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

Chapter 5

Assembling Text and Paratext

Murray helped authors negotiate the shaping of their manuscripts into printed books. This process involved not just adjustments to a work's main text, but decisions about the published book's paratext.³³⁹ While Murray usually delegated concerns of textual editing to other "literary friends", the publisher did regularly engage authors in detailed correspondence about the paratextual content and physical form of their books. Choices about titles and prefaces, dedications, appendices and indexes all shaped the finished work, as did the layout and printing of these elements in addition to the main text of an author's narrative. Because negotiations between authors and publisher about paratextual material often occurred after a manuscript had been accepted for publication, they are well represented in Murray's archived correspondence. This chapter will consider how Murray guided authors in transforming manuscript texts into printed books, considering particularly how authors shaped the paratextual apparatus needed to contextualise their journeys for a curious public.

The paratextual elements of a work were arguably the most important aspects of a new publication for Murray's business. In a shop, a potential buyer would presumably examine title, binding, and perhaps glance over the author's preface. The customer might have read a notice of the book's publication or a more detailed review in a recent periodical, but in a bookseller's shop, they would lack time to

³³⁹ The term is from G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

peruse the main text in any detail. Furthermore, Murray's printed advertisements were generally brief, supplying only author and title along with a book's format and price. Because these few elements of a new work were critical to a buyer's first impression, Murray made a substantial effort to influence their content and appearance. In fact, Murray's surviving correspondence contains many more references to the paratextual elements of Murray's travel publications than to editorial concerns about the texts themselves. This emphasis on paratextual, rather than textual editing, was also prudent from a financial perspective: payments to an editor could quickly eat away at a book's profits, but the cost of weighing in on the form of a book's title or preface was primarily to the publisher's time, not his purse.

Titles: Announcing a New Work

Titles were the most efficient means of communicating the content and excitement of a new book to a specific audience. The selection of a title, often left until an author's manuscript was largely ready for the printer, involved considerable negotiation between author and publisher. A title had to communicate the distinctive content and excitement of a new book in as brief a space as possible. By the end of the nineteenth century, the long descriptive titles that had been typical of earlier travel narratives were becoming less common. Like many of his publishing practices, however, Murray's practices of titling were conservative. Most of the travel works Murray published during the later nineteenth century carried on the long-title tradition.³⁴⁰ Long titles were miniature advertisements in their own right: appearing on title pages and reviews, they gathered together many attributes of an author's journey as well as

³⁴⁰ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 140.

the paratextual features of the book such as the presence and quality of maps and illustrations, communicating “the inescapably hybrid nature of the travel text”.³⁴¹ A shortened form, embossed on a book’s spine and printed in brief advertisements and publication announcements, communicated two main elements: the location of the author’s travels, and the manner in which the travel was conducted.

The language in a title which described the manner of an author’s travels indicated the tone of the narrative, as well as suggesting its intended audience. Works which identified themselves as “Discoveries and Surveys” or “A Narrative of Researches” reflected an author’s professionalism and authority, suggesting a more learned, and potentially less entertaining style than a book of “Rambles”.³⁴² While physically similar in size and binding decoration, Moresby’s *Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea* anticipates a much more reserved style and a more scholarly audience than Layard’s *Early Adventures in Syria*.³⁴³

Examining the corpus of titles given to Murray’s narratives of travel suggests that the language used by modern scholars to describe the genre differs substantially from the ways Murray’s authors identified themselves. This study examines a group of Murray’s publications described as works of “travel and exploration”. However,

³⁴¹ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 141.

³⁴² J. Moresby, *Discoveries & Surveys in New Guinea and the D’entrecasteaux Islands: A Cruise in Polynesia and Visits to the Pearl-Shelling Stations in Torres Straits of H.M.S. Basilisk* (London: John Murray, 1876); Schliemann (1875); Murray (2016). For example, J.H. Skene, *Rambles in the Deserts of Syria and among the Turkomans and Bedaweens* (London: John Murray, 1864).

³⁴³ J. Moresby, *Discoveries & Surveys in New Guinea and the D’entrecasteaux Islands: A Cruise in Polynesia and Visits to the Pearl-Shelling Stations in Torres Straits of H.M.S. Basilisk* (London: John Murray, 1876); A.H. Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia: Including a Residence among the Bakhtiyari and Other Wild Tribes before the Discovery of Nineveh* (London: John Murray, 1887).

that phrase is not entirely reflective of contemporary language used by authors and publisher. Of the books in this corpus, the descriptor that occurs most frequently in long titles is “travels”, appearing twenty-three times. Twenty books are entitled “narrative”, while sixteen are a “visit”, fourteen a “journey”, thirteen an “account”, and nine are “journals”. “Voyage” occurs just six times, and “exploration” and its variations only twice. This pattern is similar to the titling of non-European travel works published by Murray before 1860 and confirms Murray’s conservative tendencies: “narrative” and “journal” were the most frequent title descriptors in that earlier period, followed by “travels”.³⁴⁴ Craciun (2011) traces the development of the role of the explorer, noting that, as an identity, the term did not exist at the turn of the nineteenth century.³⁴⁵ A Google Ngram sampling of books printed in English between 1860 and 1892 supports Craciun’s claims. The Ngram suggests that both “travel” and “voyage” appear in the Google Books corpus more than three times as often as “exploration”, though the frequency with which the term “exploration” was used approximately doubled during this period.³⁴⁶ While the role of the independent explorer had certainly matured by the turn of the twentieth century, the pattern in Murray’s titling suggests that author-explorers were still not comfortable identifying themselves in those terms.

³⁴⁴ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 142.

³⁴⁵ Craciun (2011).

³⁴⁶ Google Ngram Viewer. <http://books.google.com/ngrams> Comparison of the terms “Voyage”, “Travel”, and “Exploration” (and variants) in the period 1860–1892, from the corpus of books printed in English. Viewed on March 28, 2016. Though not necessarily a representative sample of all works published, this representation of the corpus of books digitised by Google gives a general sense of the use of language in the later nineteenth century.

While language used to describe authors' journeys varied, the emphasis on on-the-spot observation was so strong that Murray occasionally attempted to exaggerate an author's experience. Lindesay Brine's *Taeping Rebellion in China*, which Murray published in 1862, is a historical account and thus not included in my corpus of travel narratives. Brine wrote to Murray with concern that the publisher's proposed title misrepresented his experience:

I should much wish an alteration made in the title of the book. I see you have called it "Narrative of the rise and Progress of the Taeping Rebellion in China — from Personal observation and information collected on the spot" I have no objection to any part except the "personal observation" It is evident that I could not have personally observed the progress of the rebellion and in fact my personal observation of the Taepings was very slight — only simply seeing some of them &c. so if the title on the book when published was altered I should be much more content. It might run thus "Narrative of the rise and progress of the Taeping Rebellion in China — by Com. Lindesay Brine RN Lately employed in Chinese waters. — or you might put in about the "information collected on the spot" if you wish — but I really dislike very much any allusion to any personal observation, principally because it has almost a total want of sensible meaning.³⁴⁷

The resolution of Brine and Murray's dispute is not recorded in the archive, but the book's published title removes both men's objections entirely by naming only the subject in question, and not the manner of its description. The subtitle, "a narrative of its rise and progress, based upon original documents and information obtained in China", clarifies Brine's sources while simultaneously identifying the author as a

³⁴⁷ NLS Ms 40148, Lindesday Brine to John Murray, 'Wednesday' 1862.

traveller, thus supporting both the scholarly and the experiential credibility of the narrative.

Working titles, used in Murray's ledgers to track the progress of a manuscript, could be substantially adjusted before publication. In many cases the working title would identify just the location of an author's travels: "Beauclerk's Norway" or "Rennie's Bhotan", for books which were published as *A Summer and Winter in Norway* (1868) and *Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War* (1866).³⁴⁸ The additions often suggested the nature of the travel undertaken. To emphasise the relevance of foreign locales to its English readers, Captain Charles James Forbes Smith Forbes' "Sketches of the Natives of Burmah" became *British Burma and its People: Being Sketches of Native Manners, Custom, and Religion*.³⁴⁹ Henry Brougham Loch's "Three Weeks in Prison at Pekin" was struck through and retitled *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's 2nd Embassy to China in 1860*.³⁵⁰ The working title suggests a more eventful journey, but fails to confirm the innocence of its author, while the published version emphasises the diplomatic nature of Loch's visit.

The order in which information was presented was also important, especially since in many cases, a shortened version of the title was used for most advertising purposes. Murray generally encouraged authors to describe the location of their travels early in the title. Elizabeth Romilly, writing on behalf of her husband Hugh, initially suggested: "Notes and Recollections of Savage Life and Cannibalism and

³⁴⁸ NLS Ms 42771.

³⁴⁹ C.J.F.S. Forbes, *British Burma and Its People: Being Sketches of Native Manners, Customs, and Religion* (London: John Murray, 1878). NLS Ms 42742(g), p. 342.

³⁵⁰ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 28.

the Old Labour trade in the Isles of the Western Pacific and New Guinea". She enquired: "the title would have to be curtailed I suppose in 'Notes and Recollections' as the real name though all the rest would follow?"³⁵¹ Murray rejected the suggestion and its abbreviated form. Romilly's next attempt proposed: "A Wandering Commissioner in Southern Seas: His Notes &c &c.", a suggestion which had been approved by a number of the author's friends.³⁵² This too was rejected. Romilly had identified the key elements of the book's title, but not in an order which Murray found suitable. The title under which Romilly's manuscript eventually appeared reversed the proposed order of description, beginning not with the manner of travel or of the author's identity, but the site of Romilly's adventures: *The Western Pacific and New Guinea: Notes on the Natives, Christian and Cannibal, with Some Account of the Old Labour Trade*.

The location of travel was a key feature in identifying a work's novelty, or lack thereof. For Murray, labelling the geographical interest of a book as early as possible in the title was an efficient means of accomplishing this task. Surprisingly, novelty did not seem to correspond with verbal "catchiness". Murray's correspondence records little evidence that the publisher was interested in selecting tempting titles; informational value was prized over excitement — else Loch's Chinese journey certainly would have retained its original title.

Not only adequate description but originality was a necessary feature to distinguish new books of travel from their competitors. A title too close to that of another work could lead to confusion and potentially loss of sales for one or both

³⁵¹ NLS Ms 41034, Elizabeth Romilly to John Murray, 1886 n.d. [January].

³⁵² NLS Ms 41034, Elizabeth Romilly to John Murray, January 26, 1886.

works, yet authors were eager to highlight recognisable terms which could spark a reader's interest. Edward Rae and Paul Du Chaillu both travelled in the extreme north of Europe during the early 1870s, and the similarity of Rae's proposed title to that of Du Chaillu (a much better known author) prompted concern on the part of the publisher. Rae had originally proposed to title his narrative *The Land of the Midnight Sun*, but Murray rejected this suggestion on grounds that Du Chaillu was already determined to use that exact title for his own book of travels.³⁵³ Months later, Rae offered Murray an alternative:

I have delayed writing to you until I should have thought over every title that would be suitable to our book, and after suggesting to myself every one that I would invent, I have set my heart upon "The Land of the North Wind, or Travels among the Laplanders and Samoyedes". The latter half being explanatory and supplementary only. May I hope that you will humour me by consenting to it? First of all I do not think it will in any way interfere with, or detract from, Mr. du Chaillu's title for his work. It is easy to pronounce, or remember and is not unsuggestive of the cold and windy North. It will be appropriate to my Journal, for it powerfully influenced our travels, and is rather a prominent feature in my descriptions. The hyperboran [*sic*] countries we visited are very subject to this prevailing wind, and they are the countries from which it blows upon us. On the whole if you would consent to the adoption of this title I should feel much obliged.³⁵⁴

There is no record of Murray's response in the archive, but the publisher seems to have responded with only grudging assent to the author's proposal. Rae responded in frustration:

³⁵³ See NLS Ms 40997, Edward Rae to John Murray, December 16, 1874.

³⁵⁴ NLS Ms 40997, Edward Rae to John Murray, December 1, 1874.

With regard to the unlucky title of my own book I fear your consent is only half willingly given to it... Beyond the repetition of the word Land there is I think no resemblance in the two titles beyond what is inseparable from the similarity of the countries we chance to have travelled in... Under the circumstances I feel confident he would not consider my “North Wind” as encroaching upon or re:echoing [*sic*] his “Midnight Sun”. I hope therefore you may feel in no way delicately situated as regards him, and I will do my utmost to make my manuscript not unworthy of a title which faintly suggests that selected by so distinguished a traveller. I sincerely wish I could have avoided being so troublesome to you in the matter, but as you approved of a similar title, The Windy North, I venture to hope you will become reconciled to one which has so light a shade of variation from it.³⁵⁵

Rae’s suggestion that even a slight association with Du Chaillu’s “distinguished” reputation might help the sale of his own work speaks to the challenges of a congested market, where a successful work on any given area might spur further interest and sales for other authors in the region, but might also hurt the market for the earlier work. In this case, Murray’s concern about possible confusion or competition between two works on Scandinavia was entirely unnecessary: Du Chaillu’s *Land of the Midnight Sun* was chronically delayed and eventually released more than six years after Rae’s *Land of the North Wind*.³⁵⁶

While Murray frequently offered an opinion on the wording of a book’s title, the publisher seems to have had little interest in the style and layout of authors’ title pages. A well-designed title page communicated essential information about a book’s subject, content, author, and publisher in an efficient, as well as an attractive manner. Murray’s correspondence with authors regarding title pages, however, is

³⁵⁵ NLS Ms 40997, Edward Rae to John Murray, December 16, 1874.

³⁵⁶ See Chapter 3.

almost exclusively concerned with their content and not with their visual appearance. Murray's letters suggest that proofs generally passed from printer to author, with the publisher entrusting the layout of the title page to the discretion of the printer.

The printers employed by Murray followed the standard conventions of the later nineteenth century: while font and style vary somewhat, the general pattern in which content was presented on a title page remained relatively consistent throughout the period. The location of travel, or main phrase if the title lacked a geographical focus, was printed in the largest font used, with the subtitle following in a much reduced size. The author's name was consistently set apart in the centre of the page, followed by a brief mention of maps or illustrations, if present, and finally the publisher's imprint at the bottom of the page. These layouts, while not graphically complicated, were typographically complex: six or seven different sizes of type could be used on a single page, allowing for multiple levels of visual emphasis upon the different elements of the title. [Figure 5.1] Authors were offered the chance to see proofs of the title page, like the rest of their works, and to provide suggestions.³⁵⁷

Title pages were a site of both identification and authorisation, where Murray's authors declared in brief not only the topic of their narratives, but their credentials to write upon such subjects.³⁵⁸ More than eighty-five per cent of Murray's later nineteenth-century travel authors included postnominal qualifications after their names. Many were fellows of the RGS, and this association was deemed particularly important. Lindesay Brine, writing a history of the Taeping Rebellion in

³⁵⁷ See, for example, NLS Ms 40145, Horace Rumbold to John Murray, February 27, 1887.

³⁵⁸ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

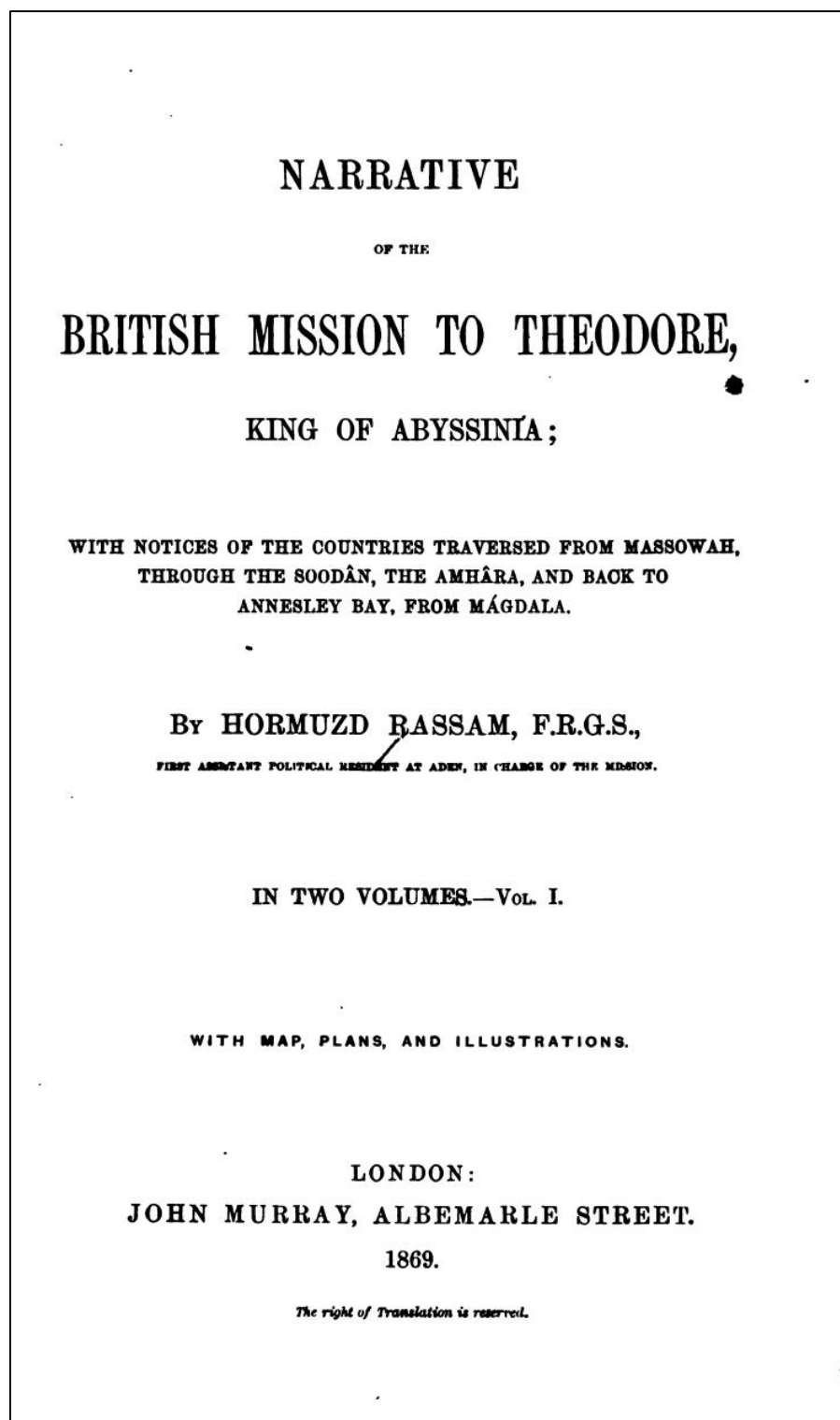


Figure 5.1

Typical title page for a later nineteenth-century narrative of travel published by John Murray. H. Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*. Vol. 1. (1869). Image from the Internet Archive, digitised by Google.

China, commented to Murray: “You will see that in my proposed titles I have put in the FRGS because I think that there are a certain class of people — not the best — but still a certain reading class with whom that addition would have weight especially as in some parts there is some geographical detail...”³⁵⁹ Travellers, then, were not necessarily geographers, but a traveller who could certify their geographical qualifications demanded respect.

If they lacked official qualifications, authors often included a description of their occupation and previous publications on the title page: Ernest George was “Architect, Author of “Etchings on the Mosel”, while Arminius Vambery describes himself as “Member of the Hungarian Assembly of Pesth, by whom he was sent on this scientific mission.”³⁶⁰ However, with degrees, memberships and other associations, the list of qualifications could become overwhelming, as in the case of Albert Bickmore, who was coordinating the publication of his travels simultaneously in New York and London:

I propose the following title, which at Mr. Appleton’s request, I have already forwarded to him. Travels in the East Indian Archipelago, by Albert S. Bickmore M.A. If you wish, you may annex to the above, the following: Corresponding Member of the American Ethnological Society, and of the London Ethnological Society and of the New York Lyceum of Natural History, and member of the Boston Society of Natural History. Some other American Societies have proposed to make me a member — if they do so I will send you them also to add or omit as you please. If I am made a fellow of the R.G. Soc. you may add F.R.G.S. after the M.A. and if they have conferred on

³⁵⁹ NLS Ms 40148, Lindesay Brine to John Murray, ‘Friday Evening’ 1862. As a historical study, rather than a first-person narrative, the book is not included in Appendix A.

³⁶⁰ E. George, *Etchings on the Loire. With Descriptive Letterpress* (London: John Murray, 1875).

me the distinguished honor of being an Hon. Cor. Mem. you may add that in full before the memberships given above, omitting of course the F.R.G.S.³⁶¹

Bickmore was duly made FRGS, and this most British qualification appears first on his title page. Bickmore even managed to insert “Professor of Natural History in Madison University, Hamilton, N.Y.”; the resulting list occupies six lines of small type on the otherwise restrained title page.³⁶²

Prefacing Journeys

A title offered only a brief chance for a book to catch a reader’s attention. While a formulaic title page emphasised clarity and a standard presentation of information on the page, the preface was the first substantial opportunity an author had to present him- or herself creatively. In a genre with so much variation in travellers’ backgrounds and geographical focus, one of the most consistent features of the travel narratives published by Murray is the style of the authors’ prefaces. Nearly every book of travel and exploration Murray published in the later nineteenth century — about nine-tenths of the total — opened with a preface. Keighren, Withers, and Bell (2015) suggest that “Murray’s role in the production and maintenance of credibility was to ensure that the right authors met with the right audiences”.³⁶³ A critical aspect of this role was to ensure that audiences would encounter claims to credibility as soon as possible upon encountering an author’s narrative.

³⁶¹ NLS Ms 40095, Albert Bickmore to John Murray, June 8, 1868.

³⁶² Bickmore (1868).

³⁶³ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 99.

While Murray's correspondence leaves little evidence of the publisher's direct influence on the language and style of authors' texts, the archive includes extensive evidence of Murray's influence over prefaces. The reason for this disparity is probably a simple calculation of economy of effort: a few pages of prefatory matter were a reader or reviewer's first entry into a new book, and their opinion of the whole work would be coloured by this impression. Hours spent reworking awkward chapters of a manuscript could be better spent polishing its preface. Murray wrote to George Minchin in 1886, laying out his rationale:

Although I abstain from interference with authors' works, as a rule, there are two points upon which, as a publisher I claim a hearing, the title and the preface. What is the object of a Preface? To tell the reader what he will find in the pages following, especially what new matter there is to be found in them, the writer's qualifications of the work, without being too egotistical; in fact its *raison d'être* — All this in as few words as possible. It should be a guide into the book not a barrier set across the gangway... A Preface is no trivial matter as regards a book — It is the *premier pas qui coûte*.³⁶⁴ Indeed many reviewers read it alone and write criticisms on the strength of the limited knowledge of it thus acquired. I like a preface which gives a reader an appetite for feeding upon the body of the book.³⁶⁵

Murray went on to criticise Minchin's draft preface for being too long, too vague, and containing much material which should be included in the main text of the narrative — the antithesis of the publisher's ideal. The functions of a traveller's preface, then, were many: to justify the author's motivation for seeking publication, defend the novelty and interest of the narrative, state the circumstances of travel and

³⁶⁴ "It is the first step that counts".

³⁶⁵ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to George J. Colton Minchin, October 22, 1886.

their effect upon the narrative's writing and editing, and apologise for any other anticipated deficiencies in the text, preferably with references to difficulties encountered in the field.

Authors frequently used the preface to explain their motivation for publishing a book of travels. This was particularly necessary because writing for profit was, as it had been earlier in the century, still perceived to be an ungentlemanly occupation. The "modesty topos" was a long-established means of acknowledging and deflecting prejudice against "professional" authors.³⁶⁶ Murray's writers took care to adhere to the trope of the reluctant author, one who had only been convinced to inquire about publication by friends or family who believed "the public" might have an interest in their journeys. Luigi Palma di Cesnola admitted to his readers: "Many American and English friends have repeatedly asked me to publish an account of my researches in the island of Cyprus, and I have acceded to their request, but not without grave fears in consequence of my literary inexperience and imperfect knowledge of the English language". Henry Baker Tristram's declaration is also characteristic of the form, suggesting: "the following pages... can therefore have no claim upon the attention of the public, except in so far as they are a faithful recollection of occurrences where... as I believe, no English traveler but ourselves has ever wandered".³⁶⁷ Tristram's conventional modest admission is balanced by an assertion of his journey's relevance: novelty to an English audience.

³⁶⁶ Colbert (2016); R. Dohmen, "Material (Re)Collections of the 'Shiny East': A Late Nineteenth-Century Travel Account by a Young British Woman in India" in *Travel Writing, Visual Culture, and Form, 1760–1900*, ed. M. Henes and B.H. Murray (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016) 42–64.

³⁶⁷ L.P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (London: John Murray, 1877). p. vii; H.B. Tristram, *The Great Sahara: Wanderings South of the Atlas Mountains* (London: John Murray, 1860). p. vi.

Just as authors accompanied their manuscripts with letters which strove to articulate the novelty of their travels to Murray, they accompanied their published books with prefaces that served the same function. The justification of novelty was an expected feature of a preface, particularly in the vast majority of cases in which an author was not the first to consider the area. Murray wrote with frustration to one author: “I have tried to explain to you that a Preface ought to have a meaning and a purpose. The first question the Public will ask is, Why, considering we have Carlyle’s Admirable Life, does Mr. A.H. take the trouble to go over the same ground? This is not answered in your Preface”.³⁶⁸ While the author in question was writing a biography and not a book of travels, the reference to the “same ground” is apt. By the later nineteenth century, the ground upon which many of Murray’s authors travelled was increasingly well trodden. Even Isabella Bird, whose four previous books had sold more than 15,000 copies by the time she published *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* with Murray in 1891, felt the need to justify the novelty of her travels:

The bibliography of Persia is a very extensive one, and it may well be that I have little that is new to communicate, except on a part of Luristan previously untraversed by Europeans; but each traveller receives a different impression from those made upon his predecessors, and I hope that my book may be accepted as an honest attempt to make a popular contribution to the sum of knowledge of a country and people with which we are likely to be brought into closer relations.³⁶⁹

By acknowledging the problem of increasing competition, however, authors could begin to address it. Horace Rumbold’s preface admits: “In these days of universal

³⁶⁸ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Andrew Hamilton, December 12, 1879.

³⁶⁹ I. Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* (London: John Murray, 1891). p. vii.

travel great would be the presumption of the writer who should aim at recording something absolutely new about any of the accessible regions of the earth”.³⁷⁰ The reader’s interest is piqued by the negativity of the statement — in a book which will presumably attempt such a feat. This strategy of negation is employed by many of Murray’s travellers, evoking the trope of the reluctant author while simultaneously acknowledging the difficulty of offering new material in a crowded field.

Another function of the preface was to articulate the purpose and circumstances of an author’s travels. These would have already been signalled by the language of the title and the qualifications of that author, whether military or scientific. John Coles opens his preface with a provocation: “So few people ever read a preface”, he suggested, “that it would almost appear to be a work of supererogation to write one. I shall nevertheless venture to do so”. After acknowledging the assistance of his travelling companions and several scholarly contributors, Coles again points to the conventionality of the form: “[It] remains for me to give some good reason for venturing to intrude on public notice...”.³⁷¹ While Iceland was an increasingly popular destination for European tourists, Coles’ narrative included a particular draw: the translation of three sagas which had never before been published in English. The literary and cultural interest of the sagas supports and enriches Coles’ travel narrative, justifying the publication of both elements.

The explanation for publishing was trickier in the case of journeys which were undertaken without the intention of making geographical observations. Diana

³⁷⁰ H. Rumbold, *The Great Silver River: Notes of a Residence in Buenos Ayres in 1880 and 1881* (London: John Murray, 1887). p. 7.

³⁷¹ J. Coles, *Summer Travelling in Iceland: Being the Narrative of Two Journeys across the Island* (London: John Murray, 1882). p. [ii].

de Vere (néé Beauclerk), Lady Huddleston, undertook a journey to Norway in 1867, accompanied by her mother and a lady's maid, in order to escape the London Season for more diverting sights.³⁷² Beauclerk's solution to justifying her publication was to succumb entirely to the modesty topos. Her four-sentence preface concludes by musing: "there may be some few... who might be tempted... to make a similar excursion", but she spends the majority of the single page apologizing for her "shortcomings" of her "feeble attempt" at a "little book".³⁷³ The "feeble attempt" turned out to be unexpectedly popular: Murray sold the entire first edition of 750 copies almost immediately, and the book reached its third edition within a year.³⁷⁴

Claims of immediacy of observation and inexperience of writing for publication, key features of travel authors' self-positioning in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, remained a consistent feature of prefatory remarks in the later nineteenth century.³⁷⁵ Emilius Albert De Cosson commented: "I have deemed it best to sketch the daily incidents of the journey almost as they were entered in my diary, for being a tyro in the art of writing, I have feared to lose in accuracy by attempting to gain in style".³⁷⁶ De Cosson's statement is typical of claims to on-the-spot observation. It confirms the in-the-field origin of the author's narrative and establishes authority and while providing a convenient excuse for a lack of literary polish.

³⁷² K. Walchester, *Gamle Norge and Nineteenth-Century British Women Travellers in Norway* (London: Anthem, 2014).

³⁷³ Beauclerk (1868), p. [i].

³⁷⁴ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 253.

³⁷⁵ See an extensive discussion in Chapter 3 of Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

³⁷⁶ E.A. De Cosson, *The Cradle of the Blue Nile: A Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia* (London: John Murray, 1877). p. iv.

Failings of scientific observation could also be explained. Thomas Thornville Cooper used his preface to apologise for the lack of direct measurements taken on his journey: “The circumstances of the journey absolutely precluded scientific observation: the only instrument taken, viz., a thermometer, was broken at an early stage”.³⁷⁷ Cooper went on to note that he had, however, taken conscientious notes of his experiences, hoping that “these at least may enable some successor to... accomplish far greater results”.³⁷⁸ By acknowledging the deficiencies of his geographical observations, Cooper both forestalled criticism and provided additional evidence in support of the authentic hardships of his journey. He concluded with a plea to his readers which tied the theme of his journey to the title of his narrative, a clever strategy if, as Murray suggested, reviewers often did not read beyond the preface: “[I desire] to be esteemed not a pretentious or scientific traveller, but a simple and truthful Pioneer of Commerce”.³⁷⁹

The preface was usually the first encounter between author and reader, but occasionally, between editor and reader. As discussed in Chapter 4, editors who had seen a manuscript through the press without the assistance of its author often wrote a preface explaining the circumstances and extent of their interventions. Rather than apologising for deficiencies caused by a deceased author unable to complete his notes, editor Horace Waller was able to celebrate the extraordinary quality of Frederick Elton’s journals despite the challenges of African travel:

There is one common test to which every African traveller should submit if he claims public utility for his work; I say let

³⁷⁷ T.T. Cooper, *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtail and Petticoats* (London: John Murray, 1871). p. ix.

³⁷⁸ Cooper (1871), p. ix.

³⁷⁹ Cooper (1871), p. x.

him be judged by his note-book and his sketch-book.... In tropical Africa the tendency to exhaustion is exceedingly great. Nature is fain to cry, "hold, enough!" when the day's march under a broiling sun comes to an end; and he who, amidst all the hindrances of pitching camp in the short half-hour between sundown and darkness which answers for an African evening, can regularly take up pen, pencil, or brush, is indomitable. There is nothing in the world which spoils so quickly under exposure as the note or the wayside observation. Secure it at once in the pocket-book or the journal, and it is elastic and bright, and will always retain its proper form; but carry it with you day by day, under a mass of accumulating impressions, and no wonder it is dank, limp, and all but colourless when its turn comes to be stowed away in the traveller's collection.³⁸⁰

This celebratory tone was only permissible, however, because it was not Waller's own notebook upon which he was commenting. Waller's emphasis on writing done on-the-spot, rather than retrospectively, is a constant feature of the prefaces of Murray's travel authors. A number of writers take care to explain how little the narrative has changed between in-the-field notebook and printed volume, though it is impossible for a reader to know the extent to which these claims are true.

The patterns of prefatory remarks were predictable and risked becoming clichéd, a fact acknowledged by several of Murray's travel authors. Edward Rae, however, went beyond acknowledgement to parody the form in *The Country of the Moors* (1877). Rae begins his preface conventionally, briefly taking on the trope of the reluctant author. Noting that he takes "no credit for inventiveness", Rae admits that other works, "more solidly conveyed", have been published on the same subject.³⁸¹ He also acknowledges the assistance of seven "gentlemen" for their

³⁸⁰ H. Waller, preface to *Elton* (1879), p. vii–ix.

³⁸¹ E. Rae, *The Country of the Moors: A Journey from Tripoli in Barbary to the City of Kairwan* (London: John Murray, 1877). p. viii.

suggestions about the manuscript, as well as both John Murrays. However, at the close of his preface, Rae takes the opportunity to mock the conventions of these acknowledgements: “I have to recognise the indulgence of the reviewers of a former account of very different scenes — from those who encouraged me to write again, to the one who remarked: We do not know any young man who has travelled so much as Mr. Rae, and seen so little...”³⁸² Rae carries the humour further at the conclusion of his statement by parodying the language of Leo Africanus, a semi-mythical traveller and geographical writer who explored Africa in the early sixteenth century.³⁸³

Briefly, kind Reader, as the old geographer Leo says in closing his Chronicle: These are the things memorable and woorthie of konwledge seene and obserued by me Eduard Rae in the Countrey of the Moors: wherein whatsoeuer I sawe woorthie the obseruation, I presently committed to writing: and those things which I sawe not, I procured to be at large declared vnto me by most credible and substantiall persons, which were themselves eie-witnesses of the same: and so hauing gotten a fitte opportunitie, I thought good to reduce these my trauels and studies into this one volume.³⁸⁴

Satirising the genre’s propensity for claims to first-person observation and credibility, Rae cleverly acknowledges the absurdity of the trope while demonstrating his own engagement with the history of travel literature. Rae’s parody

³⁸² Rae (1877), p. viii–ix.

³⁸³ P. Masonen, “Leo Africanus: The Man with Many Names”, *Al-Andalus-Magreb. Revista de estudios árabes e islámicos* (2002) 115–143. p. 115.

³⁸⁴ Rae (1877), p. ix–x.

is based on, and replicates the spelling of, a passage quoted in *Purchas, his Pilgrimage*, an encyclopaedic catalogue of voyages first published in 1625.³⁸⁵

Dedications, Appendices, and Indexes

Authors frequently used the preface to acknowledge the assistance of family, friends, or experts in their field, often for assistance provided either in the course of a writer's travels, or in the preparation of a manuscript. Reference to the guidance of established scholars supported an author's truth claims and rhetorically situated the author within a network of credible authorities.³⁸⁶ The dedication, set apart from the various aims of the preface, gave more weight to the notice and provided a chance to prominently acknowledge gratitude or deference to a single individual.³⁸⁷ By the later nineteenth century, traditions of patronage had largely disappeared from the community of scientific authors, and dedications were not limited to financial benefactors.³⁸⁸ Authors were free to acknowledge an individual, perhaps an admired scholar or royal, who had no direct influence over the content of their work. Keighren, Withers, and Bell (2015) identify key functions of an epigraph in travel books published by the first and second John Murray: to "cultivate... patronage", strengthen alliances, and, by association, imply the status and influence of an author.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ See a reprint of the first edition: S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons 1905). p. 53.

³⁸⁶ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 75–82.

³⁸⁷ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 154.

³⁸⁸ Topham (2000), p. 587.

³⁸⁹ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 154.

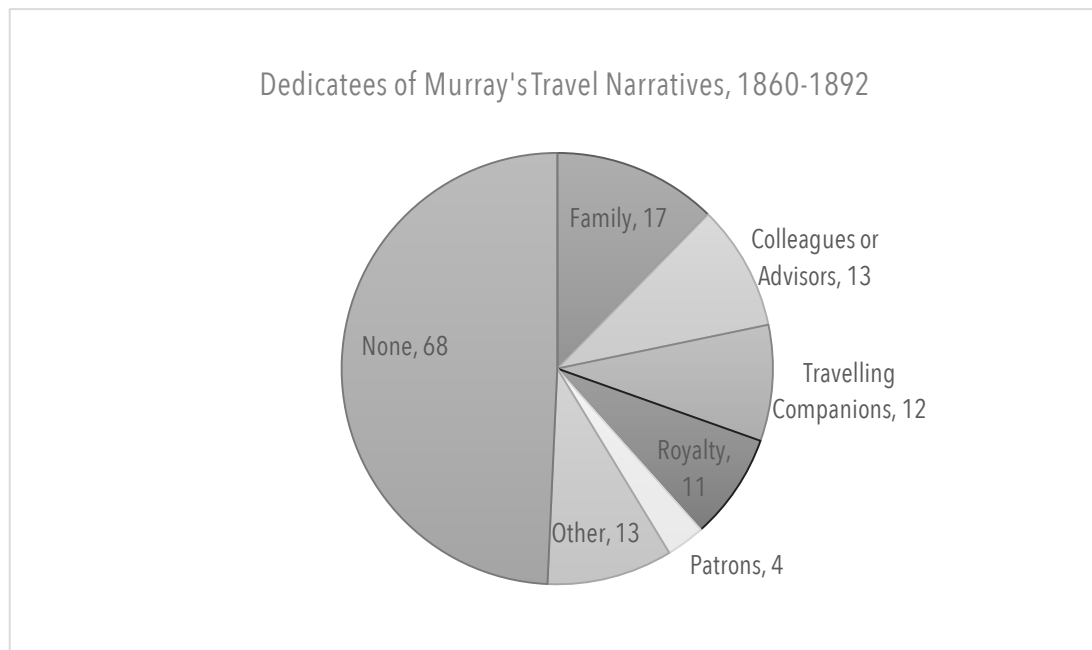


Figure 5.2: Dedicatees of travel narratives published by John Murray, 1860-1892 (n=138). By this period, traditional patronage, and acknowledgement thereof, had largely been replaced by dedications to family, travelling companions, and other members of the geographical community.

Of the nearly 150 works of travel and exploration Murray published between 1860 and 1892, just over half contained a dedication page. About one fourth expressed gratitude to close friends or family members, but three quarters of these dedications were addressed to persons of high social standing or scientific prominence. [Figure 5.2] An author was conventionally required to ask a dedicatee for his or her permission before including one. A dedication could thus serve not only as indication of the status of the author, by association, but as an important endorsement of his work. George Street, author of *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* (1865), inquired to Murray: “Do you see any objection to my dedicating the book to Mr Gladstone? or do you think dedicating better avoided. I don’t suppose he has time to trouble himself very much about such matters, but I have so very great an admiration for him that I should like, with his consent, to

express it in this way. And I have no doubt he would agree”.³⁹⁰ Gladstone was a prominent politician, Murray author, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; he would become prime minister a few years later.³⁹¹ Some authors did not content themselves with prominent members of society: nine of Murray’s later nineteenth-century travel books were dedicated to members of the British royal family. William Ellis secured permission to dedicate *Madagascar Revisited* (1867) to the Queen, but consulted Murray on an appropriate form for the page: “My own impression is that a short dedication on a single page would be best but I don’t find a book in my possession with a Dedication of that kind to a royal personage. Could you help me by kindly having copied for me a form from one of your own Volumes that you think would be suitable”.³⁹²

The most unusual dedication in this period is that of Isabella Bird’s *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* (1891), which is addressed simply “To the untravelled many”. True to Bird’s typical independence, her dedication rejects the notion of reliance upon a prominent benefactor to support the act of travel. The dedication simultaneously acts as a site of general encouragement to hesitant travellers, while also subtly acknowledging that by the end of the century, the typical pattern of support had changed for many travelling authors: it is Bird’s readers who were her symbolic and financial patrons.

Along with a work’s preface and dedication, appendices and indexes were the last elements of a manuscript to be edited and assembled as a new work was readied

³⁹⁰ NLS Ms 41663, George Street to John Murray, December 10, 1864.

³⁹¹ H.C.G. Matthew, “Gladstone, William Ewart (1809–1898)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2011).

³⁹² NLS Ms 40377, William Ellis to John Murray, January 25, 1867.

		Index	
		yes	no
Appendix	yes	29	31
	no	17	61

Figure 5.3: Correlation between presence of index and appendices in narratives of travel published by John Murray, 1860–1892 (n=138).

for the press.³⁹³ These elements were incidental to the interest of a work for most customers, and consequently not often dwelt upon by Murray. Appendices frequently appeared in more scientific or scholarly narratives to add additional information not of interest to most readers. Sixty of the 138 narratives of travel Murray published between 1860 and 1892 contain appendices, while 46 contain indexes. The presence of an index suggests that a work of travel might be consulted as a reference work, rather than read cover-to-cover simply as an entertaining narrative. This additional level of prestige, however, came at a cost of time, and sometimes payment, to prepare the list. Many authors appear to have done the work themselves, but the small added expense of a specialist to assemble an index is noted in a handful of cases, among them £3.3s. to a J. Stewart for indexing Mayne’s *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (1862).³⁹⁴ Not every work with appendices is indexed, and vice-versa; in fact, the correlation between the presence of the two elements is relatively insignificant. [Figure 5.3]

Unlike indexes, which added only a handful of pages to a book, appendices could add considerable bulk and cost to a new work. Murray had to balance the authorizing function of this added content against the expense of production. As they

³⁹³ See, for example, NLS Ms 41007, Edward James Reed to Robert Cooke, January 8, 1880: “I have completed my corrections of the first proof, and have more than one third of the last proof of the book, excepting the Introduction and some Appendices, so I suppose we shall not be long before we get out”.

³⁹⁴ NLS Ms 42731(f), p.228.

proposed a new work, authors often wrote excitedly to Murray that they could present additional observations and technical content in an appendix. Murray's correspondence, however, records few discussions with authors over the content and quantity of appendices, with the notable exception of a complaint that Luigi Palma di Cesnola's voluminous appendices had delayed publication of *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* by exceeding the quantity of specially made paper which had been ordered for the book.³⁹⁵ Appendices certainly contributed to the authorisation and credibility of a new book of travels. However, their position at the end of the text may have made Murray less concerned about content and format than other paratextual elements, like titles and prefaces, which a reader would encounter much sooner in a perusal of a travel book.

The Printing Process

In addition to text and paratext, John Murray had to concern himself with the physical format of the books he published. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the separation between printers and publishers which had begun in the later eighteenth century was largely complete. Publishers were responsible for coordinating with authors to produce press-ready manuscripts, but the work of typesetting and printing was the responsibility of an entirely separate business. As a publisher, Murray was concerned about the object produced by the printers with whom he contracted, but not always the manner of its production. In some ways, the printing office, in the John Murray Archive, is a "black box" into which manuscripts

³⁹⁵ NLS Ms 41914, p. 301. John Murray to Luigi Palma di Cesnola, November 21, 1877.

go and out of which come proofs, followed in (hopefully) short order by finished sheets.

The physical appearance and internal organisation of the travel books Murray published maintained a remarkably consistent style throughout the later nineteenth century. The literary style and degree of scientific content in a work of travel, as discussed in Chapter 1, was not consistent; arguably, the voyages and travels which Murray published in the later nineteenth century did not belong to a single literary genre. Despite differing degrees of scientific and literary expertise by Murray's authors, as well as the involvement of several different printers in producing the physical texts, the later nineteenth-century narratives of travel and exploration which Murray published were substantially uniform in their paratextual presentation. A consistent style was a convenience as well as a marketing strategy for Murray: printers could set a new book in type without extensive intervention or delay, and readers could identify the genre and content of a work without confusion.

While Murray frequently provided input on the design of a new work's binding and illustrations, the publisher usually left the appearance and format of the text of a book to the experienced judgment of his printers.³⁹⁶ The process of setting pages of text, laying out title pages, prefatory material, appendices and indexes was common to many genres — and thus these features of Murray's travel books are part of a standardised visual format common to books of the later nineteenth century as a whole, rather than to any specific preference of the Murray business. Finkelstein (2010) confirms that during this period, “print was treated not as an individualised,

³⁹⁶ R. McLean, *Victorian Publishers' Book-Bindings in Cloth and Leather* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1974). p. 12.

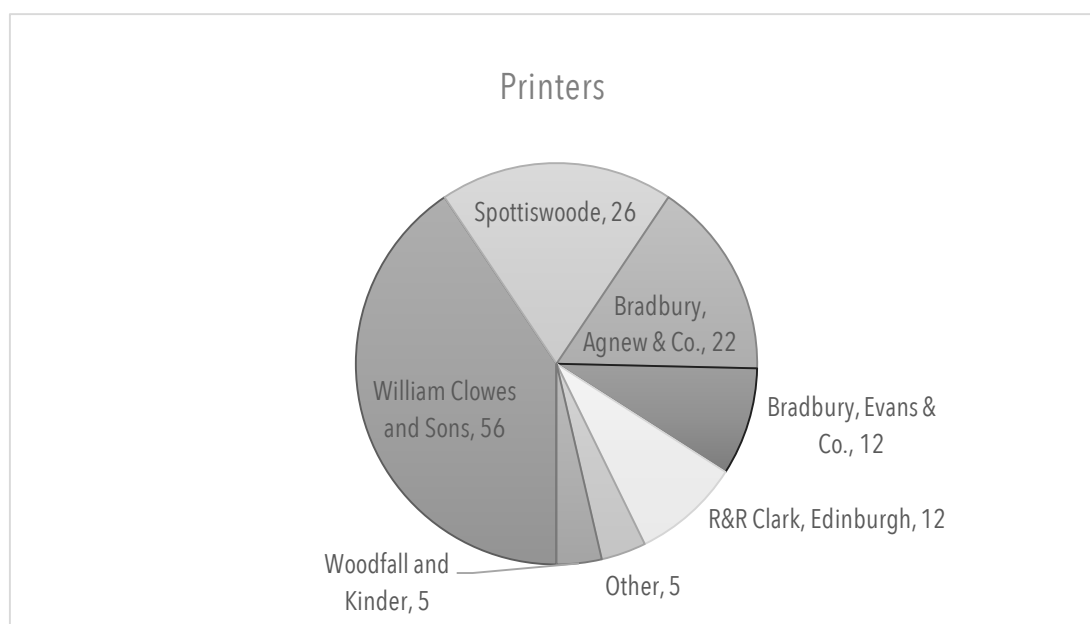


Figure 5.4 Printers of narratives of travel published by John Murray, 1860-1892 (n=138). The large firms of Clowes and Spottiswoode handled the majority of Murray's business. The five books in the "other" category were the result of books published on commission in which authors had made their own arrangements for printing, or represent the work of American printers, from whom Murray published finished sheets to bind and distribute in the UK.

aesthetic product but as part of a mechanised production process where individual texts were just one of many print runs to be completed within a workday".³⁹⁷ The industrial scale of these large firms' production meant that Murray's interactions with printers are minimally documented. A few authors expressed strong opinions on paper size, page layout, and even typefaces, but many travel writers chose to leave these decisions to the printers' more experienced judgment.

Murray worked primarily with the largest printing houses in London: William Clowes and Spottiswoode and Co. both employed more than four hundred and fifty men in a period when eighty per cent of London's printing houses had three or fewer employees.³⁹⁸ Between 1860 and 1892, Clowes was responsible for printing more

³⁹⁷ Finkelstein (2010), p. 17.

³⁹⁸ M. Twyman, *Printing 1770–1970: An Illustrated History of Its Development and Uses in England* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970). p. 6.

than forty per cent of the first editions of Murray's first-person travel narratives, while Bradbury, Evans & Co. (later Bradbury, Agnew & Co.) and Spottiswoode were each responsible for printing about twenty per cent of Murray's travel narratives. [Figure 5.4] Murray's half-dozen or so books of travel per year represented a tiny fraction of these printers' business.

During the course of the nineteenth century, technological developments including the introduction of steam-powered presses, wood-pulp paper, and stereotyping dramatically increased the availability and reduced the cost of printed books. Even large publishing houses were sometimes slow to adopt new printing technologies, however, and although Murray's printers took advantage of many of these developments, the business of printing books at the upper end of the market was fundamentally a conservative one. New processes tended to be adopted first by the rapidly expanding periodical press, for whom the increased economies of scale offered the most benefit, and only later incorporated into traditional book printing with its small and comparatively stable print runs.³⁹⁹

The advantage of working with such large printing houses was that Murray's printers were guaranteed to have enough type to complete their work without needing to distribute portions of the text during printing. Fonts of type were expensive commodities, and small printing houses could not often afford enough type to print an entire book at once. Rather, a small printer would use the type available to compose one portion of a new work, proof and print those pages,

³⁹⁹ S. Eliot, "The Business of Victorian Publishing" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. D. David (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 36–61; Altick (1957).

distribute the type, and then move on to the next section of the manuscript.⁴⁰⁰ This technique posed a problem for Murray because his authors were often too far from London to proofread their books efficiently in sections. Working only sections of a book at a time therefore risked the introduction of errors into the final work, or a substantial delay in publication. A major printer like Clowes, however, would have enough type to wait for authors and editors, whatever their location, to finish correcting proofs.

After an explosion in the number of books printed during the first half of the nineteenth century due to innovations in printing and mechanical papermaking, the period between 1860 and 1890 saw few new innovations in printing technology.⁴⁰¹ In 1860, the mechanisation of presswork which had begun with the introduction of steam-powered presses in the 1830s was firmly established. The basic technologies of printing and typesetting used to produce Murray's books of travel remained relatively stagnant through the mid-and later nineteenth century. Major advances in illustration and stereotyping technologies, which I will discuss in Chapters 6 and 7, profoundly changed the way in which second and later editions of Murray's books were produced. The basic process of printing text for commercial book publication, however, was largely unaltered during the second half of the century. By John Murray III's death in 1892, linotype and monotype had not yet been widely adopted for book production and were just beginning to see use in periodicals. These two methods removed the need for a compositor to physically select and place each letter

⁴⁰⁰ Eliot (2012).

⁴⁰¹ Altick (1957).

of a word in the correct order, substantially advancing the technology of typesetting for the first time in more than four hundred years.⁴⁰²

The price of paper had fallen more than sixty per cent since the beginning of the nineteenth century with the increased mechanisation of the paper manufacturing process, and the cost of paper continued to decline throughout the century as wood pulp and esparto grass replaced rag fibre as the main component of machine-made paper.⁴⁰³ The plunging cost of paper profoundly affected the economics of publishing.⁴⁰⁴ By the 1880s, the cost of composing — setting type and correcting errors in the proofs — and printing one of Murray's books of travel was nearly twice that of the paper which the work was printed upon, a ratio which would have been inverted at the beginning of the century. In part due to these technological advances, the average print run for a British book had doubled, from 500 in the 1830s to 1,000 in the period 1860 to 1920.⁴⁰⁵ Murray's publications followed this trend. Between 1860 and 1892, Murray ordered, on average, 1,250 copies of a new work of travel to be printed.⁴⁰⁶

Physical Format

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the era of large quartos and officially authorised reports of naval and military expeditions was largely ended.⁴⁰⁷ The books

⁴⁰² Twyman (1970), p. 62; S. Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800–1919* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1994). p. 13.

⁴⁰³ Twyman (1970), p. 50–51. A. Chick, *Towards Today's Book: Progress in 19th Century Britain* (London: Farrand, 1997).

⁴⁰⁴ See Raven (2016), p. 147.

⁴⁰⁵ Raven (2007), p. 336–337.

⁴⁰⁶ See Figure 3.2

⁴⁰⁷ See Craciun (2011); Cavell (2013).

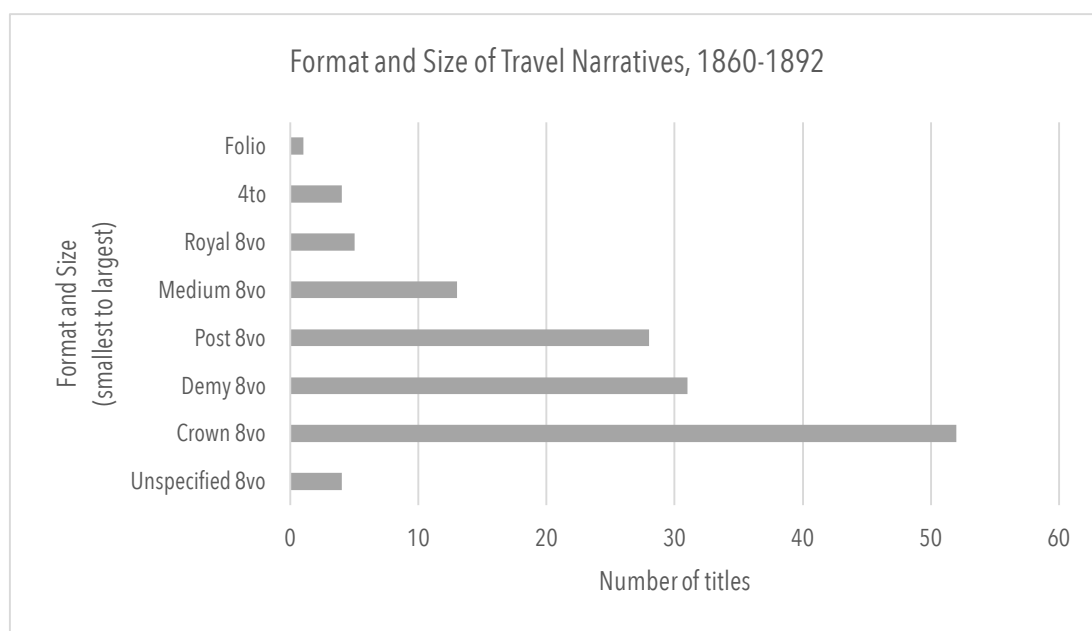


Figure 5.5: Bibliographical format and relative size of travel narratives published by John Murray, 1860-1892 (n=138). Data reflect sizes recorded in Murray's ledgers and in published advertisements for new works. The smaller sizes of post, demy, and crown octavo were close enough in dimension to be frequently confused, even by Murray.

of travel which Murray published in this period were almost exclusively narratives written from the perspective of a single traveller, whose personal observations and individual perspective were critical to the expected style of such an account.

Furthermore, the market for travel books had shifted and expanded. Demand was high for attractive, carefully produced books of travel — of moderate size, and moderate price — and these were what Murray nearly always produced in the genre.

Murray published almost exclusively octavo books of travel in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Folio, quarto, and octavo books were distinguished by the number of folds made by the binder in the printed sheet — a single fold, producing two leaves or four pages, for the folio; two folds, producing four leaves and eight pages for the quarto; and so on. Murray had been famous for his “Arctic quartos” in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and 51 of the 239 works of non-European travel Murray published between 1773 and 1859 were in the quarto format.

However, the format disappeared almost entirely from the market for travel books in the second half of the century.⁴⁰⁸ Of 138 first-person travel narratives Murray printed between 1860 and 1892, only three were quartos, all plate-books whose illustrations necessitated their large size. [Figure 5.5] In this period, Murray published just a single folio narrative of travel. One reason for this shift was financial: large quarto and folio works were more expensive to print and harder to sell than octavos. Murray wrote to Henry Villiers Stuart: “I would by all means advise you to adopt the large 8vo size like that of Wilkinson’s Egyptians and not to think of quarto which is cumbrous and obsolete”.⁴⁰⁹ The octavo format made efficient use of paper and had become the standard for a respectable, but not expensive book.

However, authors’ association between physical size and authority had not disappeared. Edward Rae wrote to Murray in 1875: “the 180 pages which I have had bound in blank paper will I presume represent about the thickness of the book, including flyleaves engravings and map. If it were possible and the paper might be a little thicker, it would give the volume more importance”.⁴¹⁰ Murray’s ledgers do not clearly record the variation in paper thickness between his books of travels, but they do note the dimensions of the sheets upon which the text was printed — and these could vary substantially. As larger formats passed out of common use in travel books, distinctions within the sizes of paper used to produce books in the octavo format expanded to fill gaps in the market left by the demise of folio and quarto publications.

⁴⁰⁸ J.J. Barnes, *Free Trade in Books: A Study of the London Book Trade since 1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 82. Cavell (2013), p. 64.

⁴⁰⁹ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to H. Villiers Stuart, April 15, 1879.

⁴¹⁰ NLS Ms 40997, Edward Rae to John Murray, January 16, 1875.

Murray recorded the size of his travel books, in descending order, as: royal, medium, post, crown, and small octavos, terms drawn from the size of paper onto which the books were printed and folded. While an octavo folded from an average royal sheet measured 10" by 6 ½", a crown sheet produced a book just 7 ½" by 5".⁴¹¹ Originally, the sizes had been denoted by the size of the paper mould used to produce each sheet. By the later nineteenth century, however, papermaking machines were developed which relied on rotating belts of webbing, rather than single-sheet screens. This innovation made historical mould sizes obsolete, and though the language of historical sheet sizes was still used by printers and publishers, it no longer reflected paper's manufacturing origin. Paper size was now dependent on the width of the web and the length at which sheets were cut.⁴¹²

The terms for paper sizes appear in Murray's discussions with authors, his ledger books, and, frequently, in publication notices and other advertising material. What had originated as a highly technical vocabulary from the printing and paper trade developed into a language of advertisement — a royal octavo signified not just a larger book, but a more finely produced one, than a post octavo. The difference in size is immediately obvious when handling the volumes, as is the visual impact of the amount of text on each printed page.

Murray's notation of book sizes was complicated, however, by the fact that paper from different manufacturers could vary somewhat in size; the terms for paper size were guidelines rather than exact measurements, meaning that some sizes could

⁴¹¹ M.T. Roberts and D. Etherington, "Book Sizes" in *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books: A Dictionary of Descriptive Terminology*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1982) 35–36.

⁴¹² P. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

overlap.⁴¹³ Furthermore, the practicalities of trimming and binding printed sheets meant that the actual dimensions of a book recorded by Murray as a crown octavo could vary by as much as two centimeters. These variations meant that even Murray could lose track of a book's format: at least a dozen books were advertised as crown octavos but listed as post-size sheets in Murray's ledgers, or vice-versa. If the distinction was lost on a publisher, it would certainly be so on most readers.

This degree of confusion implies that the convention of advertising a book at a particular size was only important in outlying cases — a small octavo, like the third edition of Lady Beauclerk's *A Summer and Winter in Norway*, for example, indicated a book of less seriousness or intellectual consequence than a physically larger volume.⁴¹⁴ And at the other end of the scale, a royal or medium octavo suggested an unusually large and important publication.

Larger format octavos were generally reserved for books with complex illustration requirements. These were often works which pushed at the boundaries of traditional travel narratives, incorporating more scientific, architectural, or archaeological detail than was included in most of Murray's narratives. George Street wrote to Murray inquiring whether the proposed page size would accommodate the scale of his illustrations of *Gothic Architecture in Spain* (1865):

I called just now in Albemarle Street but was unlucky enough not to find you at home. I wanted to speak to you about the illustrations to my Spanish book. You know that when I last saw you I wanted to have some of my plans rather larger than the ordinary octavo will admit. This you thought would hardly do — so I suppose the only plan will have to be folding sheets in a few instances. The alteration would be to reduce the scale

⁴¹³ Roberts and Etherington (1982).

⁴¹⁴ Ms 42731(f), p. 253.

to which they are drawn... such a scale is not sufficient for the proper illustration... and for making the lines of the drawings — and in the case of small Churches it makes interesting works look ridiculously insignificant. The Royal octavo size would get over all difficulties, and I have so much matter that I should be able to fill it very well.⁴¹⁵

The resulting volume was one of the largest books of travel Murray produced in the latter part of the century, a medium octavo measuring 9 ½” by 6”.⁴¹⁶

Murray published only five first-person travel narratives which were not octavos between 1860 and 1892.⁴¹⁷ Because paper size could vary so substantially, there was no need to print most larger or more scholarly books in quarto format. With the exception of Schliemann’s *Tiryns*, these quartos and folios were all books of plates, in which the narrative was subservient to the quality and size of the illustrations. *Tiryns* demonstrates the overlap between sizes that could complicate advertising: its quarto pages, printed on crown sheets, differed by less than half an inch from the height of Stuart’s *Nile Gleanings* and Schliemann’s own *Ilios*, both royal octavos. However, *Tiryns* was more than an inch wider than octavos of the same height. The squarer page of the quarto, a consequence of the initial direction of folding in the printed sheet, would have appealed to Schliemann’s desire for large illustrations.

⁴¹⁵ Ms 41163, George Street to John Murray, 1 January 1863.

⁴¹⁶ Note that “medium” was actually the second-largest paper size used in Murray’s later nineteenth-century travel books.

⁴¹⁷ J.P. Seddon, *Rambles in the Rhine Provinces* (London: John Murray, 1868); E.W. Cooke, *Leaves from My Sketch-Book* (London: John Murray, 1876); E. George, *Etchings on the Mosel. With Descriptive Letterpress* (London: John Murray, 1873); George (1875); H. Schliemann, *Tiryns: The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns*. (London: John Murray 1886).

High prices and small print runs for these largest books suggest they were expected to appeal to a niche market which had more in common with the monumental, non-narrative architectural studies of India produced by James Fergusson and published by Murray than they did with Murray's typically published books of travel. The small size of the market for such travel works was reflected in their limited success: Murray wrote to Cooke despairingly: "from the very first I warned you that Illustrated works never succeeded with me, and that I undertook these Views solely to oblige you regardless of loss to myself".⁴¹⁸ Cooke's *Leaves from my Sketch-Book*, whose two volumes were printed in an edition of only five hundred and sold at the unusually high price of 31s.6d. per volume, left the publisher more than £450 deficient six years after the book's publication.⁴¹⁹

Murray occasionally trached down his works to smaller formats for second and later editions, but the economic efficiency of stereotyping provided a disincentive to change the paper size except in the case of exceptionally successful books like Livingstone's *Last Journals*. The expense of resetting type would far outweigh any cost-saving on paper. A change of page size also posed a problem for woodcut illustrations, which would need to be cut down or expensively re-engraved for a smaller-format edition; I will discuss an example of this practice in Chapter 6. A far more cost-effective strategy was the abridgement of a two-volume work to make a single-volume "popular edition", as was the case for Bates' *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* and Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*.

⁴¹⁸ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to Edward Cooke, February 9, 1878.

⁴¹⁹ NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 381, 419.

Conclusions

This chapter has considered how Murray guided authors in selecting descriptive titles for their manuscripts, and in crafting prefaces which would satisfy the expected authorising functions of the form while maintaining brevity and interest for the reader. It has also addressed Murray's relatively minor role in shaping dedications, appendices, and indexes, and the ways in which the separation of roles between printers and publisher created a unified visual style for travel books of the period. Finally, it has considered how paper size, as well as format, allowed distinctions in the visual impact and presentation of new works of travel.

Murray's approach to the paratexts of the books he published in the later nineteenth century was fundamentally conservative. The novelty of an author's travels was key to a new work's success, but novelty of format and presentation was not. By aiming his publications at the upper end of the market for travel literature, and following two generations of family tradition, John Murray III had little incentive to change the paratextual style of publications which had succeeded for the past century.

Titles were descriptive, but rarely catchy, and long prefaces, while a critical introduction to the circumstances which had led to the publication of a new book of travels, could fail to reach every potential buyer. Typographical composition was standardised and the physical size of a book, while still indicative of its intellectual weight, gave little indication of its content. If these paratextual features did not immediately communicate the excitement and novelty of a narrative of travel, then what might? One aspect of Murray's paratextual presentation which did evolve substantially over the course of the later nineteenth century was illustration. The

quality and quantity of maps and illustrations were immediately and impressively distinctive: a key feature in a book's appeal to potential readers. Chapter 6 will consider how Murray adapted to new technologies of book illustration and balanced cost and content to produce attractively illustrated books of travels.

Chapter 6

Illustrating Travels

When travellers returned from their journeys with sketches and photographs in hand, they expected to share not just their words but their vision with the reading public. The images travellers produced on-the-spot, whether hand-drawn or photographic, had to be crafted into a form suitable for mechanical reproduction before they could be included in a published narrative. The technical limitations of nineteenth-century printing technologies, the high cost of reproducing images, and the mediated translation of on-the-spot observation into printed image problematise the credibility and authenticity of illustrations travellers shared with the reading public.

This chapter will consider the illustration of the first-person narratives of travel published by John Murray in the later nineteenth century, and the negotiations between authors, illustrators, and publisher which determined how images were presented in published form. It will examine how illustrations and maps were selected to balance their contribution to the appeal of a new work with the cost of their production, and demonstrate the collaborative process of producing a printed illustration. Finally, it will consider the ways in which technological advancements fundamentally changed the process of illustrating travel books during this period, and how those developments affected truth claims and the perception of authenticity in travellers' narratives.

Murray worked with authors to select images, and to ensure that craftsmen and printers completed their work competently, promptly, and within the publisher's

budgetary constraints. Despite the diversity of journeys documented in Murray's later nineteenth-century books of travels, the visual style of these works is remarkably consistent: more than 80% were illustrated.⁴²⁰ For readers, the subjects, quality, and quantity of illustrations were a defining and distinctive element of a book which could communicate interest and excitement much more quickly than the accompanying text. While some authors were familiar with the technical process of book illustration, many lacked the knowledge to make informed choices and so left decisions to Murray, including the choice of subjects and the selection of illustrator and engraver. Murray's correspondence indicates that the selection of individual images to be published was most often carried out in a conversation between author and publisher, at Murray's offices in London. This in-person selection was convenient and efficient for Murray. As a result, few records in the archive describe the subjective process of choosing which items from an author's many sketches or photographs would be reproduced in a new work of travel. The archive does, however, include correspondence between authors and publisher about the accuracy and quality of the printed images that were produced, as well as documentation of the costs of their production. It is these aspects of illustration which this chapter examines and explains.

In-the-Field Recording and Collaborative Image Making

Illustrations allowed authors to share an essential element of in-the-field observation with their readers. Nineteenth-century advice guided travellers in recording what was observed in the course of a journey: written notes and instrumental readings were

⁴²⁰ See Figure 6.4

expected to be accompanied by sketches and drawings. The fifth edition of Francis Galton's *The Art of Travel* advised prospective adventurers of how to facilitate these observations: the types of books which were most helpful to write in, the most durable pencils and inks — Galton even provided instructions to reinforce a fragile notebook with cotton string, paste, and calico.⁴²¹ The guide to travellers also specifies the frequency with which observations should be made, urging travellers to transfer pencilled in-the-field notes to more permanent pen and ink books at the end of each day.⁴²²

Galton's emphasis on immediacy of observation is echoed in the preface of James Elton's posthumously published *Travels and Researches among the Lakes and Mountains of Central Africa* (1879).⁴²³ Horace Waller, who coordinated the publication of Elton's narrative after editing Livingstone's *Last Journals* (1874), praised the author for his meticulous observations:

There is nothing in the world which spoils so quickly under exposure as the note or the wayside observation. Secure it at once in the pocket-book or the journal, and it is elastic and bright, and will always retain its proper form; but carry it with you day by day, under a mass of accumulating impressions, and no wonder it is dank, limp, and all but colourless when its turn comes to be stowed away in the traveller's collection. Here, then, is where the late Captain Elton's work as an explorer merits an exceedingly high place. It would be hardly possible to point to more beautiful sketches than those taken by him in places and under disadvantages of toil and worry that would have compelled nineteen men out of twenty to relinquish the attempt. His journals and notes testify that he was only too well

⁴²¹ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel; or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* (London: John Murray 1872).

⁴²² Galton (1872).

⁴²³ Elton (1879).

aware of the transient nature of impressions to give them time to evaporate under the heat of fresh adventure.⁴²⁴

Waller's preface praises the quality and immediacy of Elton's notes and sketches, highlighting the contrast between "elastic and bright" records safely preserved in field notebooks, and "dank, limp" memories only later committed to paper. While many of Murray's travellers were competent, even accomplished artists, only a handful had the technical expertise to transfer their images from paper to print. Beyond the challenges of recording their observations in the field, travelling authors faced additional difficulties during the publication process, as their sketches and photographs were worked by craftsmen who had almost certainly never encountered the sights they were expected to reproduce on wood, metal, and stone.

An artist or craftsman was required to mediate the transition from in-the-field visual record to its printed form; the implications for the authority of the resulting images are parallel to those of explorers' in-the-field writings translated into printed narratives. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the transfer of explorers' visual observations into printed books was a manual act. A professional illustrator often polished a traveller's rough sketches, drawing the finished design onto a printing surface. Then, an engraver physically cut or scratched the illustrator's image into a block of wood or a metal plate, or transferred the illustration onto a lithographic stone. Not until the mechanical reproduction of photographs through half-tone and line block processes became standard practice in the last decade of the nineteenth century did the hand (or lens) of the author become directly evident in a printed

⁴²⁴ Elton (1879), p. ix.

illustration.⁴²⁵ Most later nineteenth-century illustrations in printed books, then, were a collaborative product of author, illustrator, and engraver or lithographer.

The commissioning of illustrations presented challenges of agency and interpretation in the translation of authors' in-the-field sketches and photographs, or lack thereof, into printed images. The hand of the engraver could frustrate an author's image of how an illustration ought to appear. As illustrators, engravers, and lithographers transferred travellers' images from paper to printing block, they often attempted to improve as well as interpret. These efforts produced a tension between polished artistic appearance and authentic in-the-field observation. A work which was too much altered could detract from the effect, rather than improving it — much in the same way that textual editing could strain the credibility of a traveller's narrative. Lady Anne Blunt wrote to Murray with frustration at an engraver's attempts to improve the quality of her drawings:

I regret that several of the drawings have not been done in facsimile, for I don't mind being responsible for my own faults of drawing. The engraver I suppose wished to improve my sketches and he has altered my camels and horses into things quite unlike the real animals... I understood from you that all the drawings would be done in facsimile, and I think it would have been better to leave out entirely those not in facsimile than thus to destroy any little merit they possessed.⁴²⁶

Even the best-known authors were not immune from these challenges: Livingstone complained that the frontispiece to *Missionary Travels* (1857), interpreted by a

⁴²⁵ Twyman (1970), p. 32.

⁴²⁶ NLS Ms 40126, Anne I.N. Blunt to John Murray, May 26, 1879.

lithographer from his own “rude sketch”, contained errors of detail and perspective introduced by the artist.⁴²⁷

Explorers writing and illustrating the narratives of their travels faced a paradox: the most interesting incidents of their journeys rarely provided the opportunity to stop and sketch in the moment. In these cases, the engraver, who had almost certainly never seen the scenes he was reproducing, became responsible for contributing content to the final illustration. Authors could draw upon notes and sketches made from memory, similar scenes depicted by other travellers, or simply the written text of their narrative in order to describe the scene to an illustrator. These compiled sources could problematise the credibility of the resulting illustrations, however. Livingstone’s exasperation at the portrayal of his encounter with a lion is a frequently cited example of this phenomenon; there is no evidence that the illustrator was working from Livingstone’s own sketch of that incident — more likely, the engraver based his image on Livingstone’s written description of the scene.⁴²⁸

Emilius Albert De Cosson’s “Last Drop of Water” scene from *The Cradle of the Blue Nile* (1877) is a characteristic example of this genre. The narrator is depicted bending forward to offer his camel a trickle of water, paused amongst desiccated bones in an otherwise barren wasteland; the sun beats down and two companions are small outlines against the sand.⁴²⁹ [Figure 6.1] The scene itself is a stereotypical desert, containing no features identifiable to a particular location or time, yet it captures the romance and struggle of De Cosson’s journey. The same is true for another

⁴²⁷ Driver (2013); Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015).

⁴²⁸ Driver (2013).

⁴²⁹ De Cosson (1877), p. 198 (facing), vol. 192.

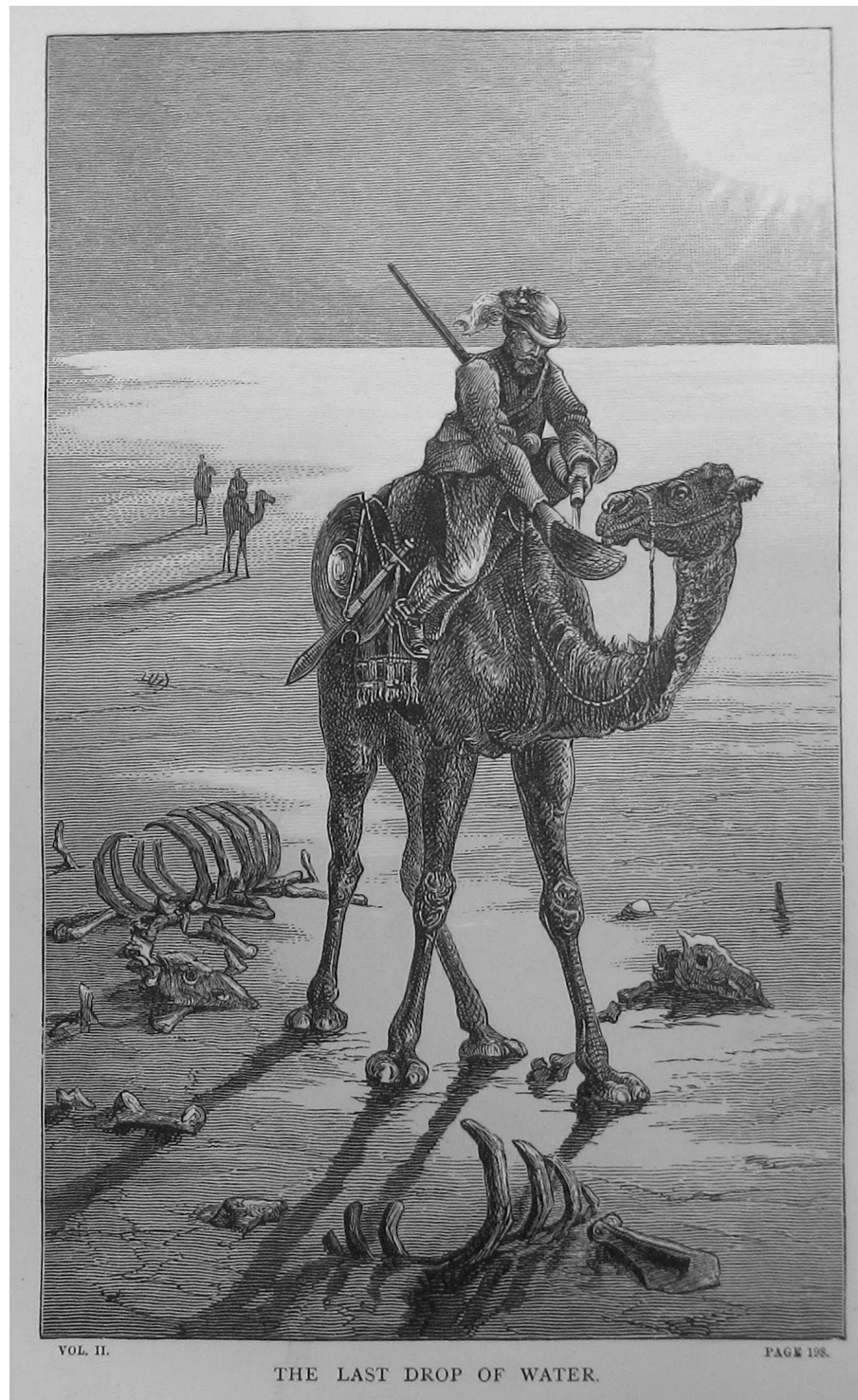


Figure 6.1

"The Last Drop of Water", from E.A. De Cosson, *The Cradle of the Blue Nile* (London, John Murray, 1877). Volume II, facing p. 198.

illustration in the volume depicting the author's encounter with lions in a forest.⁴³⁰ In each case, the illustrator has reproduced well-known animals in a setting generally applicable to the situation, rather than one which reproduces the author's own written record of his vision. The desire to depict a striking scene overrides any obligation to source the illustration from an in-the-field sketch.

A compromise between a scene invented entirely from an illustrator's imagination, and one copied line-for-line from a traveller's sketch, is the approach of the naturalist Henry Walter Bates to some of the illustrations for his *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (1863). Bates wrote to Murray: "Mr. Wolf... wished me to describe to him or let him have the MS relating to incidents in my travels where Natives and animals in movement are described. I mentioned one or two affairs to him and he thought he could make good illustrations of them".⁴³¹ Bates sketched prolifically in the field and collected nearly 15,000 specimens during his time in the Amazon.⁴³² For the illustration of a bird-catching Mygabe spider, Bates suggested that Wolf, a highly respected illustrator, refer to his written description, arguing: "this would be a striking picture and easy for an artist without violating fact one iota".⁴³³ For Bates, then, the credibility of his illustrations is based on faithfulness to memory and close conformity to written description — not inherently to the hand of the author in creating the image, or to documentation produced on the spot.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁰ De Cosson (1877), p. 37 (facing), vol. 31.

⁴³¹ NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, June 5, 1862

⁴³² F. Driver and L. Jones, *Hidden Histories of Exploration: Researching the RGS-IBG Collections* (Egham: Royal Holloway, University of London, in association with the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), 2009). p. 11.

⁴³³ A.H. Palmer, *The Life of Joseph Wolf, Animal Painter, Etc.* (London: Longmans, Green, 1895).

⁴³⁴ See J. Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990).

Illustrating the Author as Observer

In books of travel, a frontispiece illustration provided a critical first impression of the narrative's content. Should an author and publisher select a portrait, a landscape, or a crucial specimen to best represent their journey, or try to incorporate all three into a single scene? Murray initially proposed a coloured illustration of two vermillion-faced monkeys for Bates' *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*. This was an unusual suggestion from Murray, as coloured plates were several times more expensive than an ordinary wood engraving, but the publisher anticipated high demand for Bates' narrative which would warrant the additional cost. However, Bates' illustrator, the renowned naturalist artist Joseph Wolf, argued that despite the attraction of colour, the subject on its own was not captivating: "monkeys are very interesting but they are doing nothing; the public like action; did you never see a Harpy eagle pouncing on monkeys?"⁴³⁵ Bates sided with Murray, arguing that "the frontispiece coloured would be so striking that I think every reader would be tempted by it to look further into the book".⁴³⁶

Ultimately, neither option was selected: the frontispiece of the first edition is an uncoloured portrait of the author "mobbed by Curl-Crested Toucans". Bates is depicted in the centre of the scene, outfitted for collecting with a gun in one hand and a struggling toucan grasped in the other, gazing up at the objects of his study.⁴³⁷ The wood engraving fulfils Wolf's desire for incident, Bates' desire for the inclusion of a

⁴³⁵ NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, June 5, 1862.

⁴³⁶ NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, June 5, 1862.

⁴³⁷ Palmer (1895).

natural history specimen, and the literary tradition of a frontispiece portrait.

However, it clearly could not have been sketched in-the-moment by the author.

Most of Murray's published narratives of travel included an illustration of the author, but these portraits presented a challenge to claims of authenticity founded upon on-the-spot image making. The frontispieces of Murray's travel books rarely present the author in the formal portraits which were the norm in works of nineteenth-century fiction.⁴³⁸ Instead, they more frequently offer readers glimpses of the author among foreign landscapes, animals and peoples. Since the author is included in the frame of vision in such a portrait, the image, by definition, cannot have been recorded by the author himself.

Author portraits in Murray's travel works often directly address the issues surrounding claims of immediacy and accuracy in observation. The author is depicted in the act of observation in several frontispieces, including Blakiston's *Five Months on the Yang-Tse* (1862), in which the explorer, notebook resting upon his knees, is barely visible, dwarfed by the surrounding landscape.⁴³⁹ The frontispiece of Henri Mouhot's *Travels in the central parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia, and Laos, during the years 1858–60* (1864), folds out to show the author engrossed in mapping or sketching, his native assistants preparing a meal and a herd of elephants visible in the shadows of a forest clearing. The portrait clearly acknowledges its composite nature in a caption: "drawn by M. Bocourt, from a sketch by M. Mohout".⁴⁴⁰ In-extremis portraits were also popular, as in the frontispiece of

⁴³⁸ G. Curtis, *Visual Words: Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). p. 134.

⁴³⁹ Mouhot (1862); Blakiston (1862).

⁴⁴⁰ H. Mouhot, *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia, and Laos, During the Years 1858–60*. (London: John Murray, 1864).

MacGregor's *Rob Roy on the Jordan* (1869) where the author is captured and carried out of the river while still seated in his canoe. The frontispiece of Edward Whymper's *The Ascent of the Matterhorn* also places its author in grave danger, as the members of the alpinist's party shelter from an avalanche.⁴⁴¹ Accuracy in the likeness of the author is not the most important feature of these portraits. Rather, a tacit understanding between author, illustrator, and reader indicated that such images served primarily to augment readers' imaginations for the purpose of entertainment. In all these cases and in contrast to traditional posed portraits, the visual emphasis is upon action and landscape rather than the face of the author.

Maps as Supplemental Illustrations

As Keighren, Withers, and Bell (2015) have noted, maps in books of travel were "aids to interpretation" which functioned alongside other paratextual elements to supplement the text.⁴⁴² With a few exceptions, the maps printed in Murray's later nineteenth-century books of travel were not cartographically sufficient to function as aids to practical navigation. Thomas Thornville Cooper announced in the preface of his *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtail and Petticoats* (1871): "With regard to the Map, it is not intended to show the correct geography of the countries, but merely to help the reader to follow the Author in his narrative; who in this, as in all other particulars, desires to be esteemed not a pretentious or scientific traveller, but a

⁴⁴¹ J. MacGregor, *The Rob Roy on the Jordan, Nile, Red Sea & Gennesareth, &C: A Canoe Cruise in Palestine and Egypt, and the Waters of Damascus* (London: John Murray, 1869); E. Whymper, *The Ascent of the Matterhorn* (London: John Murray, 1880).

⁴⁴² Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015). See also G. Quilley, "Introduction: Mapping the Art of Travel and Exploration", *Journal of Historical Geography* 43(2014) 2–8.

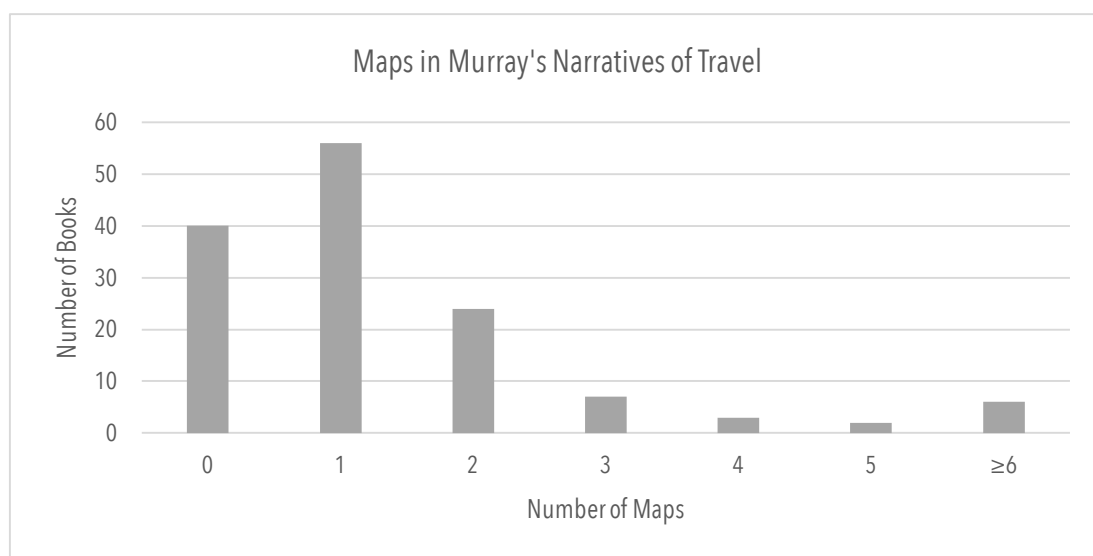


Figure 6.2: Number of maps in narratives of travel published by John Murray between 1860 and 1892 (n=138). More than two-thirds of titles included no maps, or only one, due to the time and expense required.

simple and truthful Pioneer of Commerce”.⁴⁴³ Maps, then, helped readers navigate not topography but text, marking out important locations and geographical features noted in the narrative.

Maps, almost without exception, were the most expensive sheets of paper in a book. The cost of producing a single map varied based on whether one could be printed from an extant stone or engraving, but often exceeded ten pounds — far more than that of an equivalently sized wood engraving. Because of this expense, most of Murray’s later nineteenth-century travel narratives which do include maps allow for only one. Forty of Murray’s travel narratives in the period do not include a single map, and only half a dozen have more than five maps. [Figure 6.2] Their size varies from a small plate, the size of a single page, to large sheets folded more than a dozen times to fit into the dimensions of the binding.⁴⁴⁴ A few were so large that Murray’s

⁴⁴³ Cooper (1871), p. 10.

⁴⁴⁴ For particularly elaborate examples, see D. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries, and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858–1864* (London: John Murray, 1865); Vambéry (1864).

binders deemed it most practical to store them in a specially constructed pocket at the back of the book.⁴⁴⁵ Murray's correspondence with authors reveals little about how the size and quantity of maps were determined. However, the publisher's correspondence does include occasional discussions of the sources authors drew upon to compile their published maps.

Murray insisted that illustrations be original to the books he published, refusing to reproduce images which had previously appeared elsewhere.⁴⁴⁶ The maps which Murray included in his travel narratives, in contrast, were rarely wholly original productions. Iterative by nature, maps were cropped, relabelled, or topographically adjusted on a regular basis at the request of authors wishing to emphasise particular aspects of their journeys. Archival correspondence indicates that most authors came to Murray with one or several maps which they had obtained from other sources and wished to reproduce in their own works. Sometimes, these were maps sourced from publishers in other countries, but the most common source of suitable maps was the Royal Geographical Society.

The Society's map collection was extensive, and, crucially for a cost-conscious publisher, it preserved many of the original lithograph stones and plates from which maps were printed. Clements Markham wrote to Murray about a suitable map for *Peruvian Bark* (1880), "In vol 36 of the R.G.S. J[ournal]. there is a map of the hills of Southern India which will come in very well to illustrate the book, and I can get another plate at the India Office — for illustrating the second (Indian)

⁴⁴⁵ See, for example, R.T. Wilson, *Private Diary of Travels, Personal Services and Public Events* (London: John Murray, 1861).

⁴⁴⁶ See NLS Ms 40852, Samuel Mossman to John Murray, July 2, 1855, for a case in which Murray declined to reproduce already published illustrations.

part”.⁴⁴⁷ Markham, as Secretary of the RGS, was particularly well positioned to search the society’s collections. Similarly, Edward Rae wrote to the RGS Council in 1880, requesting to reprint a map:

Mr. Murray tells me he has seen you on the subject of the Map of Russian Lapland recently published in the Proceedings. I am busy with the MS of a journey made to that country a year ago and I venture to apply to the Council of the Royal Geographical Society for permission to make use of the stone, for the purpose of illustrating the book which I hope Mr. Murray will undertake to publish.⁴⁴⁸

Travellers whose results had already been published by the Royal Geographical Society were particularly fortunate, as they were able to negotiate the use of the specific maps produced for those journals and papers in their book-length narratives.⁴⁴⁹ In a few cases, the transaction went the other way: Henry Walter Bates wrote to Murray in November of 1865 requesting permission to use Livingstone’s map of the Zambesi for the next issue of the RGS *Journal*.⁴⁵⁰ The RGS also shared with Murray the expense of the large map which appeared in Du Chaillu’s *Journey to Ashango Land* (1867); for £10, Murray allowed the RGS to use the plate of Du Chaillu’s routes through Equatorial Africa in their own *Journal*.⁴⁵¹

Murray was generally willing to include high-quality maps, like those in the RGS collections, if they were readily available, but he was reluctant to pay for their production. Edward Whymper’s maps of mountainous regions of the Alps and South

⁴⁴⁷ NLS Ms 40777, Clements Markham to John Murray, March 20, 1877.

⁴⁴⁸ RGS Archives, CB6: Edward Rae. Letter to RGS Council, December 9, 1880.

⁴⁴⁹ See, for example, Bates’ letter to Cooke giving permission to reproduce an unspecified map from the RGS collections, NLS Ms 40068 Henry Walter Bates to Edward W. Cooke, July 8, 1881.

⁴⁵⁰ NLS Ms 40068, Henry Walter Bates to John Murray, November 30, 1865.

⁴⁵¹ Du Chaillu (1867); Du Chaillu (1866). NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 399.

America are some of the most complex Murray published in the later nineteenth century; notably, Whymper bore the cost, and completed much of the work himself.⁴⁵² Whymper was intimately familiar with the Alps after several years' exploration, and was particularly concerned with the topography of the region as a result of his mountaineering objectives. His maps were an illustration to the text, but served an unusually practical purpose: they were likely the best available sources for aspiring climbers who hoped to follow in some of Whymper's footsteps. Where no good map of a region existed, or where only a general sense of the region or route needed to be communicated, authors often chose to include what captions and tables of contents identified as "sketch maps". As they contained substantially less detail than what was included in a complete survey, sketch maps were much less expensive for Murray to produce. These line-drawings were made by authors without the instrumentation, technical experience, or need to carry out thorough measurements of the regions through which they travelled.⁴⁵³

Murray did concede to fund the production of a major new map in a few cases, when none was available and the author's journey covered particularly remote territory. Robert Shaw's map of "The Route from Leh to Yarkand and Kashghar" emphasises the novelty of the author's route and discoveries. The caption announces that it was: "prepared from Mr. Shaw's data and native information in the Office of Col. Lumsden, C.B. Quartermaster Gen'l of the Army of India".⁴⁵⁴ Rhetorically, the caption indicates that the creation of an entirely new map was an exception to the

⁴⁵² NLS Ms 41269, Edward Whymper to John Murray, July 4, 1895.

⁴⁵³ See, for example, S.M.M. St. Maur, Duchess of Somerset, *Impressions of a Tenderfoot During a Journey in Search of Sport in the Far West* (London: John Murray 1890); Wilkinson (1883).

⁴⁵⁴ Shaw (1871).

norm for such a work. The cost of this effort, however, was substantial: for 1500 copies of the moderately sized folding map, lakes hand-coloured in blue and the author's route traced in red, Murray paid mapmaker Edward Weller £24.2s.2d.⁴⁵⁵ In contrast, where maps were already available, Murray's payments to mapmakers were less than £10.

The implication for nearly all of Murray's published books of travels was that readers would not use the included maps for practical navigation. Rather, the maps, like illustrations, provided another means by which to navigate the text, and to follow the author's progress through his or her journey — because, as one author wrote to Murray, “many people are rather shaky in their Geography”.⁴⁵⁶

Entertainment and Expense

Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, the divide widened between publications designed for geographers and naturalists who wished to study the results of a traveller's observations, and those for readers who were eager to read a narrative purely for personal entertainment.⁴⁵⁷ Murray, as publisher to the Royal Geographical Society, could toe the line between the two markets, but the accounts he published in book form were almost exclusively aimed at a general audience. This divide is particularly evident in the nature of the illustrations of the later nineteenth-century books of travel which Murray published.

⁴⁵⁵ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 367.

⁴⁵⁶ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015). NLS Ms 40997, Edward Rae to John Murray, May 18, 1877.

⁴⁵⁷ B.M. Stafford, *Voyage into Substance. Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984).

Authors and publisher acknowledged the divide between book-length narratives produced primarily for the entertainment of a non-specialist reading public, and shorter papers containing the detailed results of naturalist and geographical explorations. Cuthbert Collingwood wrote to Murray about a visit to the wood engraver who produced the illustrations for his *Rambles of a Naturalist on the Shores and Waters of the China Sea* (1868):

One block they were going to engrave I countermanded as entirely useless in such a book. It was some detail of the Comatula, interesting only to the scientific naturalist. But I should be glad to have something else substituted for this. A small group of nudibranchiata would answer a double purpose of putting one cut in the larger interval[?] between the 14th and 21st chapters — and also of illustrating a family of animals of which a great deal is said in the book.⁴⁵⁸

Murray did not entirely accept Collingwood's advice that the illustration of the Comatula feather star would be unappealing to the general public. The Comatula was reproduced in Collingwood's narrative, but as a simple cut without a background setting which would have been quick and quite inexpensive to engrave. The nudibranchs which Collingwood suggested were illustrated in a completely different manner: a full-page plate was designed so as to situate specimens collected from different locales in an atmospheric underwater setting.⁴⁵⁹ As with Joseph Wolf's interpretation of Bates' bird-catching spider, the specimens were illustrated in a scene which was evocative rather than scientifically exact.

Illustrations of natural specimens, like Collingwood's nudibranchs, were consistently designed in order to maximise their visual impact. Edward Whymper

⁴⁵⁸ NLS Ms 40234, Cuthbert Collingwood to John Murray, January 27, 1868.

⁴⁵⁹ Collingwood (1868), p. 193 (facing).

had the skill to draw his own specimens; *Travels amongst the Great Andes* (1891) includes a full-page illustration of insects, his “bedroom collection at Guayaquil”.⁴⁶⁰ [Figure 6.3] The presentation of the specimens is evocative of a formal taxonomic display, but on close examination, the overlapping forms make the plate unsuitable for identification and scientific use. The effect, however, is impressive in its detail and the number of specimens presented in such a small space. This illustration is indicative of the larger trend towards the non-technical in the illustration of Murray’s travel books. However, the balance between attractive and superfluous was a delicate one. Henry Fanshaw Tozer wrote to Murray: “The illustrations which I had thought of proposing to introduce are certainly novel, and I think, striking; I quite agree with you that pretty pictures are out of place in a book of travels”.⁴⁶¹ Those “pretty pictures” may have been unnecessary, but more important for Murray, they were extremely expensive.

Negotiating Quantity and Quality

Travellers often arrived at Murray’s offices with an excess of visual material and unrealistic expectations of what it would be practical to include in their published narratives. Many of the publisher’s conversations with authors were centered around the need to balance the cost of maps and illustrations with the appeal these materials added to a work. Illustrations could easily make up half or more of a publisher’s initial investment in a title, making this decision critical to the financial success or

⁴⁶⁰ Whympers (1891), p. 391.

⁴⁶¹ NLS Ms 41200, Henry F. Tozer to John Murray, October 25, 1868.

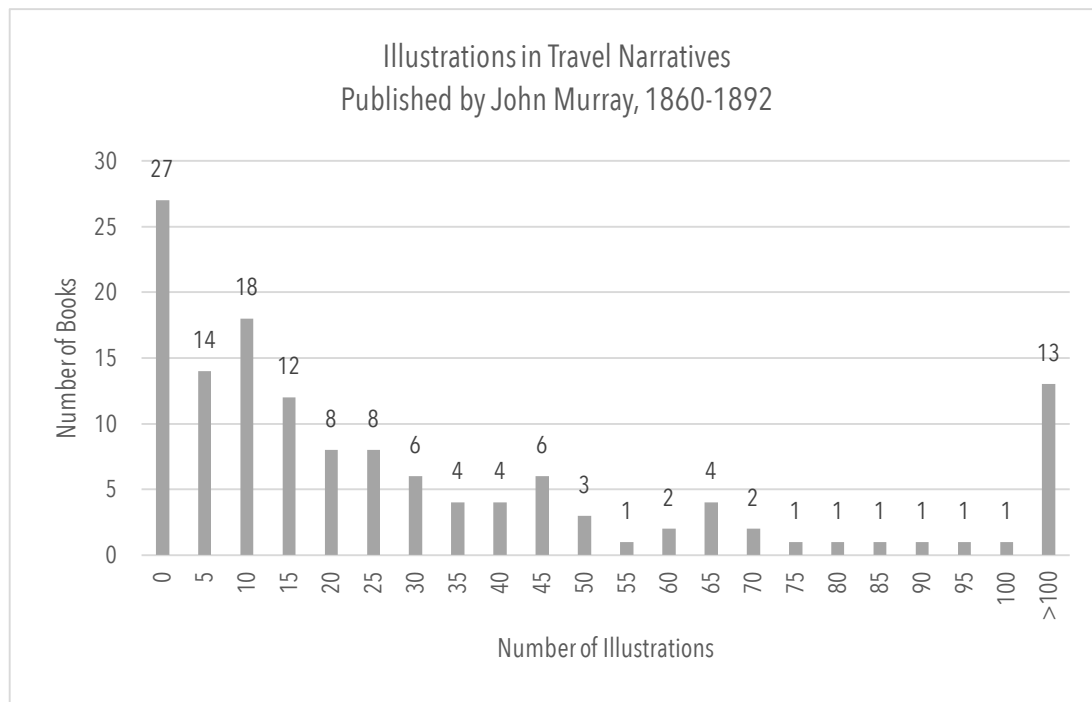


Figure 6.4: Number of illustrations in narratives of travel published by John Murray, 1860-1892 (n=138). Quantities are based on lists of published lists of illustrations, where available; remainder hand-counted. Count includes schematic floorplans of buildings and archaeological sites, but not maps. For books where the number of illustrations exceeds 100, some figures are based upon claims made on title pages. Twenty seven books, as shown, have no illustrations.

failure of a new book. Arguably, determining the quantity and quality of illustrations was the most significant choice Murray could make to influence the profitability of a new work. The archive suggests that Murray was primarily concerned not with aesthetic decisions about the nature of authors' illustrations, but the financial considerations contingent on their production and printing. In choosing illustration, as he did with length and other issues in the length of text and size of book, Murray acted as a regulator, balancing the total cost of production balanced against potential audience appeal and sale price.

Illustration was one of the most expensive elements in the production of a new book, in many cases equalling or exceeding the cost of printing the text. Consequently, there is a clear correlation between the price of Murray's books of

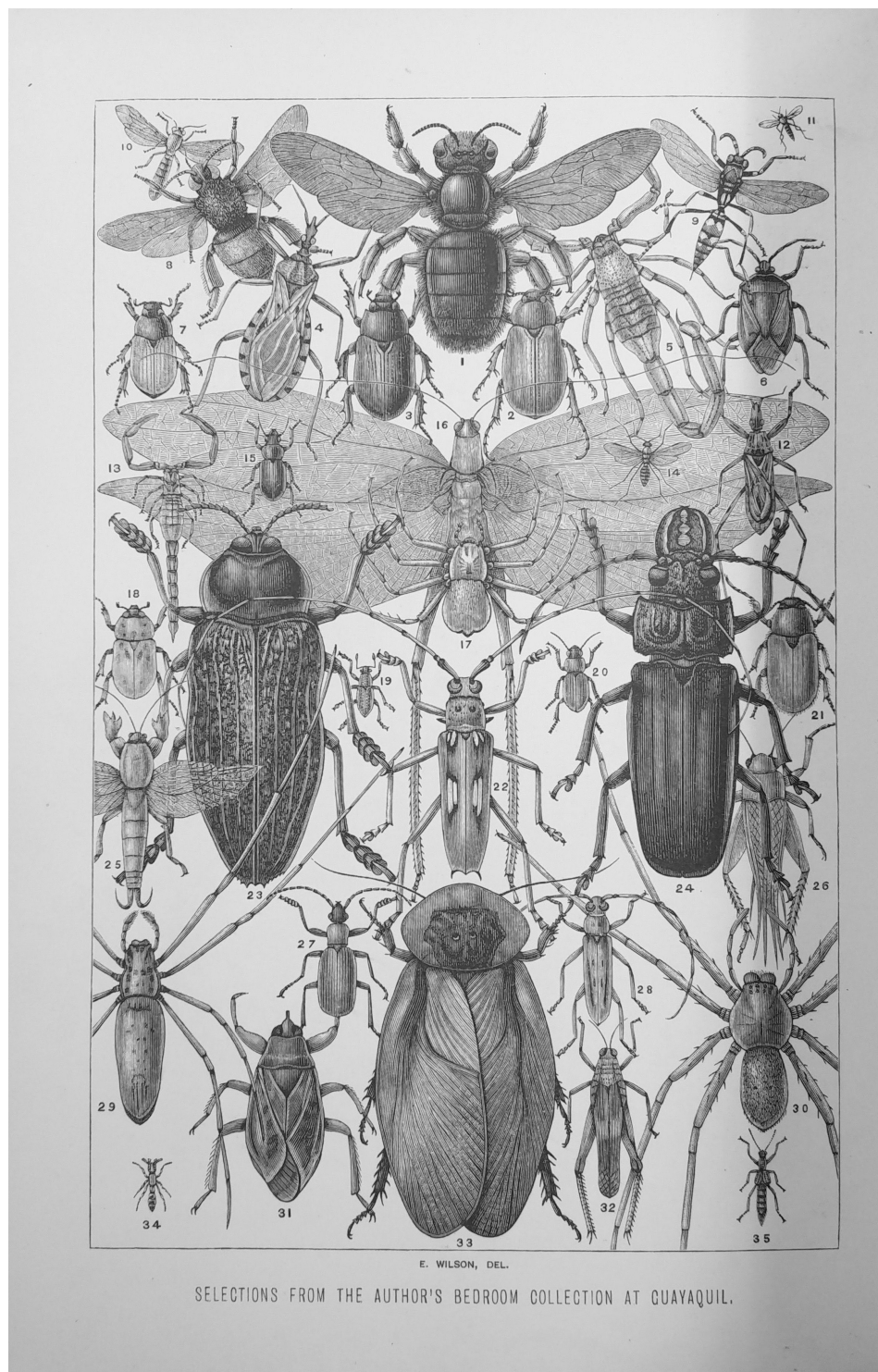


Figure 6.3

"Selections from the Author's Bedroom Collection at Guayaquil", from E.W. Whymper, *Travels amongst the Great Andes of the Equator* (London: John Murray, 1891) p. 391.

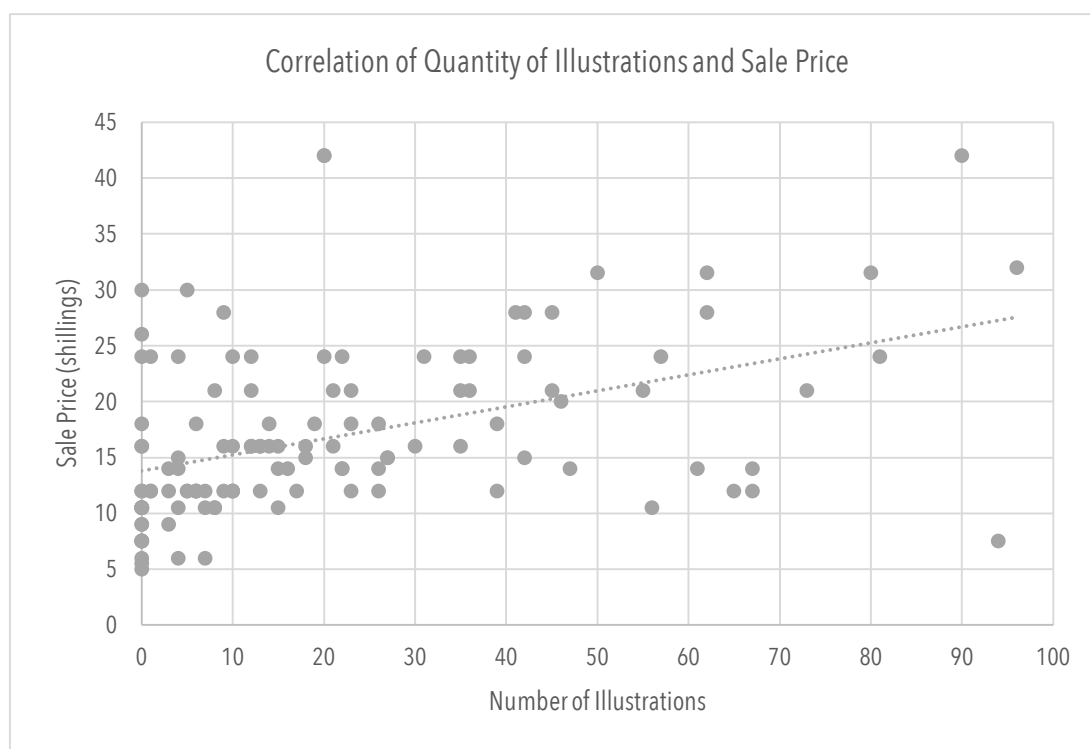


Figure 6.5: Correlation of quantity of illustrations and sale price for narratives of travel published by John Murray, 1860-1892, linear trendline (n= 124). The data show a moderate correlation. This trend is expected given the substantial cost and limited economies of scale associated with the production of illustrations, leading to a correspondingly higher sale price for heavily illustrated works. Data for twelve books with more than 100 illustrations not shown.

travel and the number of illustrations they contained. Murray's later nineteenth-century books of travel averaged fifteen illustrations and their median sale price to the general public was 16 shillings. Books with fewer illustrations were less expensive: twenty-nine narratives were not illustrated at all, with an average price of 10s. 6d. Only seven books of 138 surveyed have 150 or more illustrations. The extent and expense of the illustrations is reflected in their sale price: a median of 42 shillings, more than two-and-a-half times the average price of one of Murray's books of travel in this period.

Advertising the illustrations in a new work could also underline the book's respectability and status. Authors' title pages and publication advertisements often

announce the number of illustrations, along with the presence of any maps. At one extreme, the title page of Schliemann's *Mycenae* (1878) proudly proclaims that it represents "more than 700 types of the objects found in the Royal Sepulchres of Mycenae and elsewhere in the excavations".⁴⁶² Nathan Davis' *Ruined Cities within Numidian and Carthaginian Territories* (1862) simply announces "With Map and Illustrations" to describe an unremarkable offering of one map and twelve wood engravings, while Lady Di Beauclerk's *A Summer and Winter and Norway* (1868) focuses on authenticity rather than quantity: "From the Author's Sketches" — the small volume contained just four.⁴⁶³ However, relying on a solely numerical accounting of illustrations presents a danger of misrepresenting the degree to which a book has been illustrated. The investment of time and detail in a full-page wood engraving may be orders of magnitude different than that spent on a small vignette at the end of a chapter or a simple line-drawing of an archaeological specimen. Considering Murray's financial investment on illustrations, alongside their number, can give a better sense of the cost. The publisher's ledgers list the total payment made to each engraver or illustrator, and occasionally give a brief description of the type of work. However, even these entries can be misleading as to the extent of the illustrations produced, since any work not charged against a book's profits was left out of the publisher's accounting.

If authors insisted on a large number of illustrations, the cost of which Murray could not justify, the publisher occasionally allowed for an alternative

⁴⁶² Schliemann (1878). While the claim is technically accurate, the number of illustrations is substantially lower as many plates documented more than one item.

⁴⁶³ N. Davis, *Ruined Cities within Numidian and Carthaginian Territories* (London: John Murray, 1862); Beauclerk (1868).

arrangement. Lady Diana Beauclerk evidently coordinated production and paid for the four illustrations in *A Summer and Winter in Norway* (1868). No charge for the woodcuts appears in Murray's ledger, and the engravings are signed Dalziel: the brothers Dalziel were among the most prominent British wood engravers of their time, but Murray's ledgers do not show that he ever employed their services.⁴⁶⁴ Guillemard's *Cruise of the Marchesa* (1886) included nearly 150 wood engravings executed by Edward Whymper, but the author bore their expense.⁴⁶⁵ What Murray referred to as "embellishments which you seem to set your heart upon" were attractive only to authors who did not appreciate their cost.⁴⁶⁶

Sometimes the number of illustrations initially proposed was reduced dramatically — Henry Cunynghame originally suggested his father's *Travels in the Eastern Caucasus* (1872) be illustrated by "12 lithographs (or copper etchings if not too expensive) or a copper etching for frontispiece — and by about 50 woodcuts interspersed in the printed matter", but the final book appeared with only 26 wood engravings by Whymper.⁴⁶⁷ Rather than celebrate the quantity of illustrations, Cunynghame, like other authors, chose to draw attention to the quality and authenticity of the illustrations in his preface, remarking that "the drawings were executed... on the spot... it is sufficient to mention Mr. Whymper's name in

⁴⁶⁴ Ms 42731(f), p. 253. Beauclerk (1868); G. Beegan, "The Mechanization of the Image: Facsimile, Photography, and Fragmentation in Nineteenth-Century Wood Engraving", *Journal of Design History* (1995) 257–274.

⁴⁶⁵ NLS Ms 40497, F.H.H. Guillemard to John Murray, August 9 [1886].

⁴⁶⁶ NLS Ms 41915 p. 47, John Murray to Edward James Reed, October 2, 1879.

⁴⁶⁷ NLS Ms 40303, Henry Cunynghame to John Murray, April 13, 1871.

connection with them to invite attention to the admirable treatment they have since received at his hands".⁴⁶⁸

Murray occasionally refused to illustrate a book altogether. The decision to deny a new work of travel even a few illustrations was risky, though. Readers of voyages and travels had come to expect pictures in their books — and the lack thereof could hurt sales. Henry Barkley assumed that *Between the Danube and the Black Sea* (1876) might contain several illustrations or maps, and with his manuscript he forwarded to Murray a selection of options to consider. But Murray refused the proposal for illustrations and included only one map, noting that a £50 outlay was unlikely to be compensated by increased sales of the work.⁴⁶⁹ This was a shrewd decision by Murray. A £50 expense would have reduced author and publisher's profits by a quarter, and such thin profit margins were typical of Murray's travel publications. Occasional huge successes helped carry the publisher's unprofitable ventures and funded overhead costs of running the business — which were not factored into the profits and losses of individual publications.

Murray's refusal to risk the cost of illustrations seems to have made a strong impression on Barkley. Fifteen years later, the author again wrote to Murray about illustrations for a new book:

As to illustrations please do as you think best — I don't know anything as to the cost of these and therefore can't offer an opinion. Pictures also make a book nice, just as flowers at table

⁴⁶⁸ A.A.T. Cunynghame, *Travels in the Eastern Caucasus, on the Caspian and Black Seas, Especially in Daghestan, and on the Frontiers of Persia and Turkey, During the Summer of 1871* (London: John Murray, 1872). p. vi–vii.

⁴⁶⁹ NLS Ms 40051, Henry Barkley to John Murray, September 19, 1876. H.C. Barkley, *Between the Danube and Black Sea; or, Five Years in Bulgaria*. (London: John Murray, 1876).

make dinner all the nicer, but I don't let my wife buy flowers for the table if they cost a lot, and I find the food nourishes me just as well and just as many friends come to dine with me as when I have them.⁴⁷⁰

In this dinner-table analogy, Barkley uses a generic term: pictures. The reality of publication, however, was much more complex. Wood engravings, etchings, lithographs, and photomechanical processes all appeared in Murray's later nineteenth-century books of travel, each technique distinguished by its own technical advantages and challenges.

Technology and Technique

While illustrations increased a book's desirability, authors and publisher had to balance their desires for dramatically illustrated narratives with the practical considerations of available technology. Murray was responsible for coordinating the technical processes used to illustrate his books. He did not take part in the actual production of illustrations, but his correspondence demonstrates an intimate familiarity with the technologies of book illustration. Broadly speaking, the three most common methods for illustrating books through the mid-nineteenth century were metal engraving, lithography, and wood engraving. In considering the illustration of books of travel published by the first and second John Murray, Keighren, Withers, and Bell (2015) imply that woodblock illustration became less popular over the course of the nineteenth century:

The adoption of new printing techniques from the 1820s onward made the production of illustrations cheaper and more versatile. The move from woodblock and copperplate to steel

⁴⁷⁰ NLS Ms 40051, Henry Barkley to John Murray, July 10, 1891.

engraving and lithography provided material that was more durable, allowing for the continued use of the plates and maps from edition to edition and the easier integration of texts and image on the same page, ensuring a greater correspondence between letterpress and illustration.⁴⁷¹

While these trends are indicative of progress in the printing industry, Murray was slow to adopt the specific developments the authors mention. This was partly due to the challenges they created in printing text and image efficiently. Steel engraving and lithography presented substantial disadvantages for the integration of text and image on a single page: they could not be printed on a letterpress machine.⁴⁷² The need to use a separate press meant that any sheet which contained both an engraved or lithographed image and letterpress text would have to pass twice through a press, and full-page plates would need to be individually tipped in to gatherings of letterpressed pages by the binder. Wood engravings, on the other hand, could be printed at the same time, and with the same press as text, thus providing a substantial saving in labour costs.⁴⁷³ Because of these efficiencies in cost and labour, wood engravings were the medium Murray commonly chose to illustrate the travel narratives he published in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Woodcut illustration is an ancient technology which predates moveable type, but technical innovations had created a renaissance of the craft in early nineteenth-century England. Notably, the use of end-grain blocks made possible a much finer level of detail than had been possible in blocks carved along the direction of the grain.⁴⁷⁴ One enduring disadvantage of wood engravings was that they were not as

⁴⁷¹ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 156.

⁴⁷² Gaskell (1972), p. 268.

⁴⁷³ E. De Maré, *The Victorian Woodblock Illustrators* (London: Fraser, 1980).

⁴⁷⁴ De Maré (1980).

durable as steel engravings or lithograph blocks. By the middle of the nineteenth century, though, the electrotpe process allowed wood engravers to replicate their blocks in a highly durable medium that could still be printed letterpress, creating images which were “virtually indistinguishable from the original”.⁴⁷⁵ Stereotyping, though effective and inexpensive for reproducing pages of type, was generally avoided as a method of reproducing wood engravings because the process could not capture fine enough detail.⁴⁷⁶

Wood engraving was a middle-class form of illustration, detailed and accurate when care was taken, but affordable to reproduce and distribute. It was also a process at which British craftsmen particularly excelled. The method had been revived by Thomas Bewick in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and Bewick’s successors continued to develop and popularise the medium.⁴⁷⁷ Albert Bickmore, a naturalist and one of the founders of the American Museum of Natural History, arranged for the first edition of his *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago* (1868) to be published simultaneously by Murray in London and Appleton in New York. Appleton, the American publisher, agreed to share all costs of production with Murray, but suggested that the “illustrations might be done in England possibly better and certainly cheaper than in this country”.⁴⁷⁸ By the middle of the nineteenth century, the British public was accustomed to the large wood-engraved illustrations which appeared weekly in the *Illustrated London News* and later *The Graphic*, at a

⁴⁷⁵ De Maré (1980), p. 49.

⁴⁷⁶ G. Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration: The Technical Revolution* (David & Charles Publishers, 1973). p. 74.

⁴⁷⁷ De Maré (1980), p. 8.

⁴⁷⁸ NLS Ms 40095, Albert Bickmore to John Murray, May 13, 1868.

price of just sixpence and fivepence per copy, respectively.⁴⁷⁹ The papers' enormous circulation — the *Illustrated London News* printed more than 300,000 copies weekly by 1862 — kept the price of individual issues low, sparked dozens of competitors, and led to a boom in the wood engraving trade.⁴⁸⁰

The tight end-grain of boxwood blocks allowed engravers to produce highly detailed scenes, but the labour involved was proportionate to the level of detail: a finely-worked illustration could take ten days or more to cut by hand.⁴⁸¹ High-quality work came at a cost: one biographical account reports that the Whympers charged six guineas for a typical engraving, and the price nearly doubled if they were required to arrange for an artist to initially draw the illustration onto the wood block.⁴⁸² Furthermore, small wood engravings could easily be printed in line with text, but full-page illustrations were often printed on specially treated paper stock, noted in Murray's ledger books as "plate paper", in order to transfer fine detail more effectively. Using separate paper was also advantageous because printing text on the back of an illustration could warp the paper, or show through thinner sheets, thus damaging the quality of the illustration.⁴⁸³ Plate paper was more expensive than ordinary paper, though, and had to be inserted into the appropriate place in text by the binder. This additional labour, though relatively minor, could drive up costs.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁹ A. Korda, *Printing and Painting the News in Victorian London: The Graphic and Social Realism, 1869–1891* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). p. 49.

⁴⁸⁰ Korda (2015), p. 19.

⁴⁸¹ Gaskell (1972), p. 266.

⁴⁸² I. Smith, ed. *The Apprenticeship of a Mountaineer: Edward Whymper's London Diary 1855–1859* (London: London Record Society, 2008). p. xvii.

⁴⁸³ M. Twyman, "The Illustration Revolution" in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 117–143. p. 125.

⁴⁸⁴ See, for example, the expense listed separately for Austen Henry Layard's *Early Adventures in Persia* (1887), NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 297.

High print runs made it possible to keep the prices of illustrated newspapers low, since the relative cost per copy of producing each illustration was minimal. For Murray's travel books, however, the exponentially smaller number of copies printed meant that the cost to produce wood engravings represented a substantial fraction of the publisher's total expenses for a new book.

Murray's ledgers suggest that the cost of engravings varied based on the size of the block and the level of detail in the image. The ten illustrations in Dufferin's *My Canadian Journal* (1891) cost only five pounds less than the twenty in Bigg-Wither's *Pioneering in South Brazil* (1878).⁴⁸⁵ The particularly fine detail in Dufferin's volume probably accounted for the discrepancy in price. Folding plates were a rarity, as their large size required bolting several individual pieces of wood together; boxwood does not grow large enough to supply end-grain sections for very large illustrations.⁴⁸⁶ When present, folding plates are placed prominently, as with the frontispiece of Du Chaillu's *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (1861), which greets readers with an impressive full-length gorilla.⁴⁸⁷

Murray regularly commissioned blocks from several London wood engravers. The identity of the illustrators in Murray's later nineteenth-century travel books can be traced through the signatures on printed plates as well as the payments recorded in Murray's ledgers. Many hands might work on an illustration which bore the signature of a single engraver, though. While most workshops employed only two or three men, the larger studios with which Murray primarily worked distributed

⁴⁸⁵ NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 376, 392.

⁴⁸⁶ De Maré (1980), p. 43.

⁴⁸⁷ Du Chaillu (1861).

tasks between many artisans.⁴⁸⁸ In workshops like those of the Whymper family and James Cooper, some artists and apprentices were employed exclusively to draw designs onto blocks and prepare materials, with the cutting reserved for more experienced craftsmen.⁴⁸⁹ A young Edward Whymper complained in his journal of the tedium a junior engraver endured: “1857 September 22. Cut up wood. Drew diagrams, etc. Diagrams! Oh, sickening job. I have to draw lines frequently one-sixth of an inch thick and that for many weeks together”.⁴⁹⁰ The more senior engravers could be selective in their choice of tasks, working only on complex illustrations or specially commissioned projects. One contemporary remarked that “Cooper and others wear tall silk hats, have extensive establishments, and seldom, if ever, touch a block”.⁴⁹¹

The Whympers: Engravers and Explorers

The Whympers were the wood engravers with whom Murray maintained his most consistent business relationship, illustrating nearly two thirds of Murray’s later nineteenth-century travel narratives. [Figure 6.6] Josiah Whymper began to illustrate books for John Murray II in the 1830s, contributing to some of Murray’s best-known travel narratives of the century including Livingstone’s *Missionary Travels* (1857).⁴⁹² His sons Edward and Frederick carried on the relationship, with Edward taking sole

⁴⁸⁸ A. Dyson, *Pictures to Print: The Nineteenth-Century Engraving Trade* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Farrand Press, 1984). p. 43; Smith (2008), xv.

⁴⁸⁹ Dyson (1984), p. 43; De Maré (1980), p. 42.

⁴⁹⁰ Qtd. in F.S. Smythe, *Edward Whymper* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940).

⁴⁹¹ L.J. De Freitas, “Commercial Engraving on Wood in England, 1700–1880”. PhD Thesis, Department of Cultural History. (London, Royal College of Art, 1986). p. 298–299.

⁴⁹² Smith (2008).

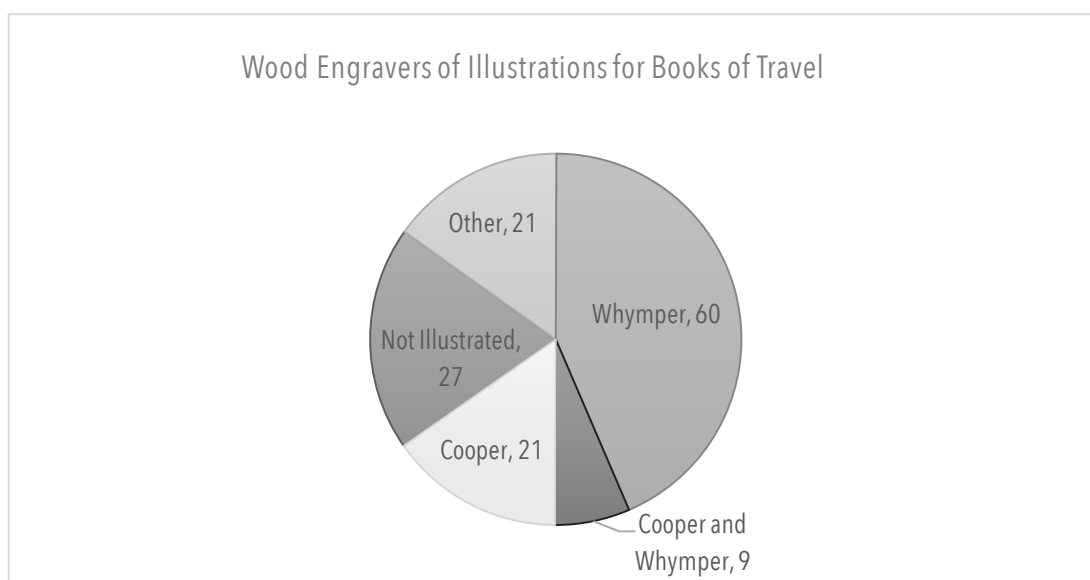


Figure 6.6: Wood engravers who illustrated narratives of travel published by John Murray between 1860 and 1892 (n=138). The Whymper family contributed to the illustrations of half the books Murray published in this period.

control of the business in 1882.⁴⁹³ The Whympers were acknowledged masters of their trade and regularly trained young engravers as apprentices. James Cooper, who was apprenticed to Josiah Whymper from 1837, went on to found an independent workshop which contributed to the illustrations of at least 30 of Murray's later nineteenth-century travel books.⁴⁹⁴ In nine cases, Murray's ledgers record that both Cooper and Whymper received payment for work on the same volume; some books required so many illustrations or such a rapid publication schedule that a single workshop would not have been able to satisfy Murray's time constraints.

While book printing did not operate on such tight schedules as illustrated newspapers and other periodicals, the time required to engrave and print illustrations could substantially delay the publication of an otherwise complete book. To speed the production of illustrations, Murray occasionally shared the work between

⁴⁹³ Smythe (1940).

⁴⁹⁴ M.J. Andrews, "Cooper, James Davis (1823–1904)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

different workshops — though this risked inconsistency in the visual style or quality of the illustrations — but most importantly, he chose to work with engravers whose workshops were close to Albemarle Street. The location of the Whympers' workshop, across the Thames in Lambeth, and less than three miles from Murray's offices, meant that communication and proofs could be passed rapidly between publisher and illustrator, either in person or by an apprentice serving as messenger.⁴⁹⁵ Murray's correspondence often mentions conversations with the Whympers, but the archive includes only a handful of surviving letters.⁴⁹⁶

The Whympers maintained a large and successful wood engraving business for much of the nineteenth century, but not every set of illustrations they produced was designed for maximum profitability. This was most notably the case in the mountaineering narratives authored as well as illustrated by Edward and Frederick Whymper. These books were extraordinary demonstrations of the authors' skill as engravers, but the time and effort spent to produce their exceptionally fine illustrations far exceeded the financial return on these investments.⁴⁹⁷

Edward Whymper was made internationally famous by his first ascent of the Matterhorn, the central episode of his *Scrambles Amongst the Alps* (1871). He chronicled a later expedition to Ecuador which included an ascent of the active volcano Cotopaxi in *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator* (1891). Each of Edward Whymper's books was published on commission, rather than under a profit-sharing arrangement as was usual with the publisher. Taking control of the

⁴⁹⁵ Beegan (1995); I. Smith, "Edward Whymper's London", *The Alpine Journal* 109(2004) 234–240.

⁴⁹⁶ See NLS Ms 41269.

⁴⁹⁷ Whymper (1868); E. Whymper, *Scrambles Amongst the Alps* (London: John Murray, 1871); Whymper (1880); Whymper (1891).

costs of publication allowed Whympers to maximise his own oversight of the printing and publishing process, and to expend as much time and capital on his illustrations as he felt was necessary rather than accepting constraints imposed by a publisher or printer. Most books Murray published on commission presented too high a financial risk for the publisher to accept under a normal profit-sharing arrangement; often, Murray was proved prudent when authors lost money on these books and the publisher was saved from financial liability. Based on the records in Murray's ledgers, however, publishing on commission appears to have been a sound financial decision for Whympers.

From the sale of 4000 copies of *Scrambles Amongst the Alps*, Whympers earned a net profit of more than £2800, while Murray received less than £300.⁴⁹⁸ Under an ordinary profit sharing arrangement, Whympers would have received only about £1500 profit, or at most about £2000 if Murray had offered the author two-thirds of the profits.⁴⁹⁹ By accepting a commission arrangement, Murray apparently missed the chance to profit more heavily from Whympers's exceptionally popular book, the subject of which had been heavily publicised following the accidental death of several members of his party in descent from the Matterhorn. However, in a later letter to Murray, Whympers admitted that the illustrations for *Scrambles* cost him more than £1250, apart from his own labour.⁵⁰⁰ In fact, then, Whympers's actual profits were about £1500 — not accounting for the considerable investment of his own time. The extent of the expenses for illustration, despite the author's prominence

⁴⁹⁸ Notably, even a £300 profit made Whympers's narrative one of Murray's dozen most successful travel publications in the second half of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁹⁹ NLS Ms 42765, p. 141.

⁵⁰⁰ NLS Ms 41269, Edward Whympers to Hallam Murray, July 4, 1895.

as a wood engraver and willingness to invest a huge amount of personal effort into the process, is indicative of the collaborative process of illustration: the costs would have included the labour of several members of Whymper's workshop in addition to the raw materials, copper-plate maps, and electrotypes.

Complex Processes and Their Costs

Until photomechanical processes made the cost unsustainable at the end of the nineteenth century, Murray continued to illustrate most of his books exclusively with wood engravings despite the availability of other technologies. This uniformity was a matter not only of house tradition and economy, but also of aesthetics. Josiah Whymper wrote to Murray in 1853, arguing that an author's desire to include lithographs along with wood engravings was inappropriate: "persons of taste repeatedly urge that they should never be used together as they injure each other, and this is certainly the case in an expensive book I will shew you... where the wood cuts have taken all life out of the Lithography and the publisher now regrets they were not all done in wood".⁵⁰¹ A handful of Murray's books of travel did include illustrations produced with other techniques including etching, coloured wood engraving, lithography, and photographic processes. In nearly every case, however, authors made their own arrangements for these illustrations and often took the additional cost upon themselves.

Edward Rae's *The White Sea Peninsulas* (1881) included fifteen woodcuts, twelve etchings, and one map.⁵⁰² The etchings were an usual choice, being generally

⁵⁰¹ NLS Ms 41269, Josiah Wood Whymper to John Murray, November 2, 1853.

⁵⁰² E. Rae, *The White Sea Peninsula. A Journey in Russian Lapland and Karelia*. (London: John Murray, 1881).

uneconomical as a commercial illustration method. The plates required multiple iterations of processing through acid baths, using wax to stop out the areas to be printed.⁵⁰³ The delicate process allowed for a high degree of artistic expressiveness, but demanded an unusual level of technical skill to perform successfully, thus was rarely used in mass-produced books.⁵⁰⁴ Rae, however, who was independently wealthy and “not very much concerned about profits (which I could hardly expect from my modest productions)” was willing to take on the expense himself, paying out of pocket for all the etchings and all but two of the wood engravings.⁵⁰⁵ The book’s thousand copies initially made a small profit, but additional expenses over the next eight years resulted in a loss, leaving Rae to send an apologetic note in 1889 along with a cheque to help cover his book’s costs.⁵⁰⁶

Murray also published two volumes of etchings by Ernest George, an architect and accomplished artist who sketched along the Mosel and Loire rivers in 1873 and 1874.⁵⁰⁷ Upon returning to London, George published two folio volumes, each containing twenty etchings described with brief letterpress text. Although George’s focus is more on illustration than written description, his books do trace the artist’s journey, organising narrative and images as a progression down the rivers. A contemporary review supports the notion that travellers might purchase such a book as an aid to memory of their journey: “not the least pleasant books are those which conjure up reminiscences of past travel: and one of the best of these — a piece of

⁵⁰³ D. Bland, *The Illustration of Books* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962). p. 150.

⁵⁰⁴ T. Fawcett, “Graphic Versus Photographic Reproduction in the Nineteenth-Century”, *Art History* 9:2(1986) 185–212. p. 203.

⁵⁰⁵ Ms 40997, Edward Rae to John Murray, September 26, 1879.

⁵⁰⁶ Ms 40997, Edward Rae to John Murray, March 27, 1889.

⁵⁰⁷ H.J. Grainger, “George, Sir Ernest (1839–1922)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

true artistic work — is ‘Etchings on the Mosel’”.⁵⁰⁸ The text comments on the historical and cultural context of the views depicted, as well as their visual appeal. George notes of the Metz Cathedral, viewed from the river: “a washing-shed, with its busy figures and gay colours, makes a bright foreground to the picture”.⁵⁰⁹ At 37.5 x 27cm, George’s volumes were physically the largest books of travels Murray published between 1860 and 1892. They were also, surprisingly for large illustrated books, profitable. The key to Murray’s success with George’s works, however, was that George himself bore the labour and cost of the illustrations. Murray paid Brooker just £138.10s. to print 400 sets of the plates for *Etchings on the Mosel* (the remaining 100 sets were printed, as they became needed, for £24). Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. oversaw the letterpress, with paper and printing costing only £35.1s. The total costs of production were thus comparable to an average octavo volume with a few dozen woodcut illustrations. Unlike Murray’s usual publications, though, George’s book was priced at two guineas, more than three times the cost of an average Murray travel narrative at the time. Because Murray did not need to account for the cost of George’s time or etching equipment, the volumes made substantial profits despite the low number of copies printed.⁵¹⁰

Few of Murray’s books of travel included coloured illustrations. Travel narratives occupied a different place in the market than superlatively illustrated natural history books, which were produced in much smaller numbers and at much

⁵⁰⁸ Quoted in advertising material at the end of George (1875).

⁵⁰⁹ George (1873), p. II.

⁵¹⁰ *Etchings on the Mosel* earned author and publisher each about £140 profit, while *Etchings on the Loire and in the South of France* resulted in a more modest profit of about £70 each.

higher cost.⁵¹¹ Colour plates represented a substantial additional investment when compared to ordinary illustrations, and the results, while eye-catching, were difficult to execute as precisely as their black-and-white counterparts. Each colour required a separate wood block, and a separate pass through the press; even a small misalignment of the paper would cause the layers of colour to offset and distort the image. This additional labour also increased the time necessary to complete the printing.⁵¹² Colour lithographs had the same registration challenges as wood engravings. The technique's focus on visual impact over precision led one scholar of book illustration to remark: "these mid-Victorian lithographs are nearly always crude and garish".⁵¹³

Murray regarded the technical challenges of printing in colour so serious as to make the process impractical for use in his books.⁵¹⁴ John MacGregor argued strenuously for the inclusion of coloured plates in his *Rob Roy on the Jordan* (1869):

As I understand your views the objection is not so much to the additional expense, as to the mechanical difficulties. In the matter of size, and price, and type &c. I have wisely acceded with your better judgment. But in this matter of illustrations I should feel great hesitation in sending forth the book with any thing short of all the illustrations suggested by the subject and by the sketches, several of which are precisely those that look best in colour.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹¹ B. Dolan, "Pedagogy through Print: James Sowerby, John Mawe and the Problem of Colour in Early Nineteenth-Century Natural History Illustration", *The British journal for the history of science* 31:3(1998) 275–304. p. 288.

⁵¹² NLS Ms 40742, John MacGregor to John Murray, February 14, 1860.

⁵¹³ Bland (1962), p. 158.

⁵¹⁴ NLS Ms 40742, John MacGregor to John Murray, June 12, 1869.

⁵¹⁵ NLS Ms 40742, John MacGregor to John Murray, June 12, 1869.

Murray conceded to MacGregor's arguments and agreed to print the requested illustrations. His Estimate Book ledger predicted an expense of £128 on the coloured plates, with an additional £200 to be spent on uncoloured wood engravings.⁵¹⁶

Ultimately, MacGregor's 63 uncoloured woodcuts cost about £200. Strikingly, just four coloured illustrations for the six thousand copies Murray printed in the first year of publication cost an additional £200.⁵¹⁷ Murray's decision to make such an unusual investment was certainly influenced by MacGregor's established reputation and the near-certainty of good sales; his risk was repaid by profits of nearly £400 within a year.

Lithographs in colour were even more expensive than their wood engraved counterparts. Sydney Hickson proposed to include two coloured "lithos" in *A Naturalist in North Celebes* (1889), but admitted that the expense might mean only one could be printed: "It is my desire to have two coloured plates one of the *Periophthalmus* fishes and the other of the parrot *F. megalorhynchus*. The estimates I have received from Messrs. Waterlow and Sons for lithographing these in colours are *Periophthalmus* £10.2.6 *Sanygnathus* £29.0.0 for 1000 copies".⁵¹⁸ The proposed lithographs were phenomenally expensive. The £40 Hickson planned to spend could cover the cost of a dozen illustrations in one of Murray's ordinary books, and would nearly double the total expenditure for illustrations in his narrative. Ultimately, author and publisher compromised and agreed to print one, but not both, of the proposed coloured plates. [Figure 6.7] Cooper was paid £56 for drawing and engraving the rest of the book's 35 illustrations, and Murray's ledger records a

⁵¹⁶ NLS Ms 42722, p. 41.

⁵¹⁷ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 17.

⁵¹⁸ NLS Ms 40556, Sydney Hickson to John Murray, February 15, 1889.



Figure 6.7

"Periophthalmus fishes". Coloured lithograph frontispiece for Sydney Hickson's *A Naturalist in North Celebes* (London: John Murray, 1889).

payment of £10 to the lithographer W. Griggs for “1000 Fish in color”.⁵¹⁹ While colour within the pages of Murray’s travel books was expensive and an uncertain investment in potential profits, the opposite was true of his books’ covers. New technologies made it possible to create highly decorated and brightly coloured machine-made bindings at a fraction of the cost of a plain leather cover.

Binding Innovations: Illustrations on the Cover

As the technologies of illustration were changing rapidly through the nineteenth century, so was the technology of bookbinding. Until the industrial revolution, bindings were almost exclusively bespoke creations commissioned by customers after they had already purchased the printed sheets of a book.⁵²⁰ This changed with the introduction of cased-in bindings and paper-backed cloth in the 1820s. The new, dramatically cheaper materials and techniques quickly replaced sewn boards and leather covers for all but the most elaborate bindings. For the first time, the entire outer case of the book, both boards and covering cloth, could be assembled independently of the textblock. Critical in the acceptance of these new materials was the ability to decorate them attractively. Binders adapted centuries-old techniques: rather than using hot metal hand tools to emboss patterns into a completed binding, the newly mechanised processes used large brass blocks to press the entire design into the case at once, before the cloth-covered boards had been attached to the

⁵¹⁹ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 206. S. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes. A Narrative of Travels in Minahassa, the Sangir and Talaut Islands, with Notices of the Fauna, Flora and Ethnology of the Districts Visited* (London: John Murray, 1889).

⁵²⁰ W.B. Clowes, *Family Business, 1803–1953* (London: W. Clowes, 1953). p. 13.

textblock.⁵²¹ The speed and relatively low expense of these new techniques allowed publishers to commission elaborately decorated bindings.

The designs for Murray's books of travel are typical of the later-nineteenth century style. Title, author, and publisher are embossed on the spine and the covers are generally decorated with a representative illustration. Murray had experimented with simpler, uniform bindings for his Home and Colonial Library and Family Library earlier in the century: both bound in cloth-covered boards, they were distinguished only by the printed text on their covers and spines. These types of uniform bindings were meant both to keep costs down and to serve as effective branding. This emphasis on uniformity was particularly effective in the case of Murray's *Handbooks*: English travellers on the continent were readily identifiable by the red cloth bindings of their guides (and occasionally mocked for their reliance upon their "Murray").⁵²² For the narratives of travel Murray published, however, bindings offered an additional opportunity to emphasise a new book's novelty and excitement. The bright and varied colours of cloth, the design of the title, decorative border, and most importantly the illustration embossed on the boards could all spark a reader's interest.

Murray's cover designs often replicate a particularly striking illustration from the printed text. Due to the high pressure required to stamp a binding, however, the original woodblocks could not be reused and a new block had to be cut from brass at a cost of a few pounds. Robert Meade wrote to Murray with uncertainty about the

⁵²¹ McLean (1974); E. Potter, "The Changing Role of the Trade Bookbinder, 1800–1900" in *The Book Trade & Its Customers, 1450–1900: Historical Essays for Robin Myers*, ed. A. Hunt, G. Mandelbrote and A.E.M. Shell (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997) 161–174.

⁵²² Lister, Murray and Murray (1993).

cover design for his *A Ride through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand* (1870):

“I don’t know which to choose — so I will leave it to you and the Binder. I think that the Flag picture is the chief incident of the book but might come out blurred from being too full of small detail and the ladies bathing would perhaps on the other hand come out better from the absence of detail”.⁵²³ Meade included a proof of the illustration in question, but Murray ultimately opted for action over exoticism, a more chaste, but less striking view of a Maori ceremony.⁵²⁴ The front cover depicts one of the most dramatic incidents of Meade’s narrative: the captive traveller waiting to learn whether he will be allowed to live.⁵²⁵ Admittedly, the fine detail is lost at a distance and the resulting design is not one of Murray’s more striking covers.

Meade’s correspondence with Murray is an exception: most of the publisher’s conversations about binding design, like those about illustration more broadly, seem to have been conducted in person. It is clear, however, that the same concerns of novelty which were so important in Murray’s acceptance of manuscripts remained critical in the later stages of publication.

Murray’s books of travel generally eschew elaborate designs such as those created by prominent wood engravers or artists, instead focusing attention on a single prominent illustration on the front board. From the 1870s, new inks increased the diversity of patterns and colours that could be applied to bookcovers, and Murray

⁵²³ NLS Ms 40800, Robert H. Meade to John Murray, October 30, 1870.

⁵²⁴ The omission of nude women may also have been a concession to Mudie’s Circulating Library, one of Murray’s most important customers. As Chapter 7 will discuss, Mudie maintained rigid standards of propriety and refused to purchase any book which appeared unsuitable for family reading.

⁵²⁵ H.G.P. Meade, *A Ride through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand* (London: John Murray, 1870). p. 129.

regularly took advantage of these technologies.⁵²⁶ A few of the publisher's more elaborate publications, particularly in 1870s and 1880s, display more fashionable styles made possible by the new inks; J.W. Redhouse's translation of the Shah's diary is intricately embossed in three colours, with an applique of decorated paper pasted down one side of the front board.⁵²⁷ Hallam Murray personally designed a number of Murray's more elegant bindings of the period, including those for Schliemann's *Troja* and *Mycenae*, but there is no evidence in the correspondence or ledgers to suggest that this was a typical occurrence.⁵²⁸ More likely, Murray specified textual elements and supplied the key illustration for each binding, leaving the binder to arrange the minor details in much the same way that the publisher left typographical specifics to his printers. Murray worked with several different binders, primarily large London companies such as Simpson & Renshaw and Edmonds & Remnants. These firms were capable of producing hundreds or thousands of bindings on a tight schedule in high-capacity, modern factories.⁵²⁹ Unlike printers or illustrators, however, binders are rarely identified by name in Murray's records. The copies ledgers consistently account for only the cost of binding, not the name of the binder, and identifying slips pasted onto the endpapers of a finished volume, known as "binder's tickets", are not consistently applied to Murray's publications.

Especially for large print runs, not all copies were bound up at once.

Murray's ledger entries often show an initial large batch followed by a few small quantities bound later as demand necessitated. Gouger's *A personal narrative of two*

⁵²⁶ McLean (1974), p. 11.

⁵²⁷ J.W. Redhouse, *The Diary of H.M. The Shah of Persia, During His Tour through Europe in A.D. 1873* (London: John Murray, 1874). See a copy at NLS K.153.e.

⁵²⁸ Carpenter (2008), p. 210.

⁵²⁹ Potter (1997), p. 165.

years' imprisonment in Burmah, 1824–26 (1860) is typical of this pattern, with half of the 2,000 copies of the first edition bound immediately at a total cost of £37.10s. Three years later, when the initial batch had been sold, Murray paid £3.15s. to bind an additional hundred copies, and had a final 250 copies bound for £9.7s.6d. before his accounting in June of 1867.⁵³⁰ This strategy conserved Murray's capital investment in a new publication while also allowing for additional material to be inserted in later years, if necessary. Gouger died suddenly shortly after the publication of his narrative, but his notes were sufficiently advanced to be collected into an additional chapter.⁵³¹ By using the unbound sheets from the initial printing, Murray was able to issue this "second edition" for under £10, including the cost of editing, printing, and paper.⁵³² The design of the binding was identical to that of the first edition, with one exception: by reserving 1000 unbound copies, Murray was able to instruct the binder to use purple cloth, rather than green, for the boards. This alteration cost Murray nothing, but created a clear visual distinction between the original and the updated offering. Not all changes in cloth colour were intentional, however. The National Library of Scotland holds two copies of Seebohm's *Siberia in Asia* (1882), one bound in green cloth and the other in red.⁵³³ Murray bound 900 copies initially, but waited more than a year to bind up the last hundred. In the intervening time, the binder presumably ran out of the original colour.⁵³⁴

⁵³⁰ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 101.

⁵³¹ H. Gouger, *A Personal Narrative of Two Years' Imprisonment in Burmah, 1824–26* (London: John Murray). p. "Preface to the Second Edition" by A. Gouger". See NLS copies of both editions at K.174.e.

⁵³² NLS Ms 41731(f), p. 101.

⁵³³ H. Seebohm, *Siberia in Asia: A Visit to the Valley of the Yenisey in East Siberia with a Description of the Natural History Migration of Birds Etc* (London: John Murray, 1882). See NLS copies at Wordie.1518 and S.189.d.15.

⁵³⁴ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 195. See McLean (1974), p. 7.

Cloth, even if generously embossed with illustrations in gilt foil, was not always considered fine enough for presentation. In a few cases, Murray arranged for copies of his publications to be bound specially. I have only traced one such binding, of Edward James Reed's *Japan: its history, traditions, and religions. With the narrative of a visit in 1879* (1880), which is currently in the possession of a private collector. The cloth binding of Reed's *Japan* is unusually decorated, a full-frame illustration in traditional Japanese style reaching to the edges of the boards.⁵³⁵ Two detailed blocks allow a gilt image of Mount Fuji to contrast against the foreground figures in embossed in black. The presentation binding, whose production Murray must have arranged, replicates the design in leather. [Figure 6.8] Supporting the binding's provenance as contemporary to the book's publication is a letter from Reed to J. L. Wheatley, noting "I deferred sending you a copy of my work on Japan till I could send you one specially bound".⁵³⁶ The binder used the same brass blocks to impress the main design, but added a distinctive decorative gilt border to the head and tail.⁵³⁷ The result is a binding equal in quality of design but exceptional in its material and execution. These fine morocco leather bindings were charged individually, though not consistently, in Murray's ledgers. While Murray's ledger does not list the expense for Reed's *Japan*, a presentation binding of Redhouse's *The diary of H.M. the Shah of Persia, during his tour through Europe in A.D. 1873*

⁵³⁵ E.J. Reed, *Japan: Its History, Traditions, and Religions. With the Narrative of a Visit in 1879* (London: John Murray, 1880).

⁵³⁶ Edward James Reed to J.L. Wheatley, December 18, 1880. Collection of Dr. Bill Zachs, Edinburgh.

⁵³⁷ The binder trims sheets after they are sewn to smooth the edges of the text block, reducing the size of the margins in the process. Heavy trimming eventually affects the text, which by extension led to a fashion for copies with margins as large as possible. A special binding, then, might minimise the degree of trimming and produce a larger page than that of copies in cloth.



Figure 6.8

Presentation leather (below) and ordinary cloth (above) bindings for E.J. Reed, *Japan: its history, traditions, and religions. With the narrative of a visit in 1879* (London: John Murray, 1880). Cloth copy is NLS E.144/2.b; presentation leather is in the collection of Dr William Zachs, Edinburgh.

(1874), bound for the Shah cost over three pounds.⁵³⁸ Specially produced morocco bindings for Lady Di Beauclerk's diminutive *A Summer and Winter in Norway* (1868) were charged at only 10s. 6d. each, but the book itself, when ordinarily bound, sold for six shillings, just one-twentieth of the cost of a fine binding. When contrasted with the less than ten pence it cost to produce an ordinary binding for the same volume, the reason for the ubiquity of cloth case bindings becomes evident.⁵³⁹

The Advent of Photographic Processes

The invention of photography in 1839 fundamentally changed the nature of geographical observation. Travellers carried photographic equipment into the field as early as the 1850s, but early photographic processes required extensive training, cumbersome equipment and immediate access to a darkroom, since negatives had to be processed while still wet.⁵⁴⁰ Developments through the 1850s reduced the bulk of the equipment, and in the 1860s a new dry-plate process removed the need for a portable darkroom. By 1883, the 5th edition of the Royal Geographical Society's *Hints to Travellers* describes a mature technology with readily available, standardised equipment. The apparatus still weighted more than 20 pounds, though, and a dozen photographic plates cost 7 shillings, about half the price of an average travel book published by Murray.⁵⁴¹ By 1886, the RGS had appointed an official Instructor in Photography and encouraged all travellers to adopt the technology as

⁵³⁸ NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 402.

⁵³⁹ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 253.

⁵⁴⁰ J.R. Ryan, *Photography and Exploration* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013). p. 12.

⁵⁴¹ H.H. Godwin-Austen, J.K. Laughton and D.W. Freshfield, eds. *Hints to Travellers Scientific and General* (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1883).

part of their technical instrumentation.⁵⁴² Despite the challenges of field photography, by the 1870s and 1880s, many travellers were approaching John Murray with photographic prints in hand, eager to include the images they had captured in the printed narratives of their travels.

In recording their observations, in-the-field artists were also interpreters who could accept or question prevailing assumptions about a place, species, or people.⁵⁴³ Geographers including Driver, Ryan, and Schwartz have written extensively about how image-making in the field and the use of photography have influenced the development of geographical knowledge, while book historians have documented the development and use of new technologies in the printing of illustrated books.⁵⁴⁴ What has been less frequently considered, however, is the consequences of these technological developments for the communication of in-the-field observations to a wider reading public.

The use of photographs to illustrate printed books proved to be a major technological and financial challenge for nineteenth-century publishers including John Murray. Travellers could display their photographs in exhibitions, produce stereoscopic views or lantern slides, and distribute photographic prints to a few

⁵⁴² Ryan (2013), p. 89.

⁵⁴³ L. Bell, "Not Quite Darwin's Artist: The Travel Art of Augustus Earle", *Journal of Historical Geography* 43(2014) 60–70.

⁵⁴⁴ See J.M. Schwartz and J.R. Ryan, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003); J.R. Ryan, "Imperial Landscapes: Photography, Geography and British Overseas Exploration, 1858–1872" in *Geography and Imperialism, 1820–1940*, ed. M. Bell, R. Butlin and M. Heffernan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) 53–79; J.R. Ryan, "Photography, Visual Revolutions, and Victorian Geography" in *Geography and Revolution*, ed. D.N. Livingstone and C.W.J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) 199–238; Ryan (2013); Driver (2003); Driver (2004).

friends or colleagues.⁵⁴⁵ However, the development of technology to reproduce photographs in printed books did not keep pace with the development of photography as a medium of observation. For much of the later nineteenth century, it was technically difficult and prohibitively expensive to include photographic prints in illustrated books. The gap between the technology available to create photographs, and the ability to efficiently reproduce them, as well as the aesthetic and economic compromises it necessitated, demands further study by geographers in order to understand how geographical knowledge was visually communicated to reading audiences.

In considering the impact of photography, and image-making in general, on the reading public, it is important to recognise that a single image, produced in the field or reproduced in fine quality but small quantity, and therefore accessible only to a small elite, is fundamentally different from the mass-produced representation of that image in printed narratives. Books which included photographic prints were occasionally produced in the mid-nineteenth century, but until the end of the century, the process was prohibitively expensive for an ordinary book of travel.⁵⁴⁶ William Bradford's *Arctic Regions* (1873), a spectacular elephant folio illustrated with 141 albumen prints, is a frequently cited example of an early photographic book. Crucially, however, it was only accessible to a tiny fraction of the population.⁵⁴⁷ The book sold for 25 guineas to subscribers and was described in a contemporary

⁵⁴⁵ Driver (2003); C.W.J. Withers, "Science, Scientific Instruments and Questions of Method in Nineteenth-Century British Geography", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38(2013) 167–179.

⁵⁴⁶ Ryan (2005).

⁵⁴⁷ W. Bradford, *The Arctic Regions. Illustrated with Photographs Taken on an Art Expedition to Greenland* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1873). See Ryan (2013).

publication announcement as “the book of books, as far as cost goes”.⁵⁴⁸ At that price, the album was 30 times the median cost of Murray’s later nineteenth-century travel books. Murray did occasionally bring out photographically illustrated works, publishing an octavo volume by architectural historian James Fergusson, *The Rock-Cut Temples of India*, in 1864.⁵⁴⁹ It was illustrated by 73 tipped-in photographs, but even that relatively small book sold for more than four times the average cost of a Murray travel book. Seddon’s *Rambles in the Rhine Provinces* (1868) included fourteen photographic prints, but Murray bore none of the cost: the book was published on commission and Murray received only 277 copies from the binder to sell, at 42 shillings apiece, under his imprint.⁵⁵⁰ For the average reader interested in purchasing a work of travel, then, heavily illustrated photographic books were out of the question.

Even a work with considerably fewer photographic illustrations might exceed the publisher’s tolerance for production costs. It is difficult to calculate how much an individual photograph added to the cost of a publication, but Alfred Charles Smith, who published *The Nile and Its Banks* with Murray in 1868, commented that when he occasionally had photographs printed to illustrate a local history magazine, the cost came to about 3 pence per photograph.⁵⁵¹ Murray published Smith’s book on the Nile with just four illustrations in two volumes. Had these wood engravings been photographs, even this small number would have added a shilling to the cost of producing each and every copy. Multiplied over a print run of 1000 copies, those

⁵⁴⁸ *Notes of the Day*, (Manchester, England: October 19, 1872).

⁵⁴⁹ J. Fergusson and R. Gill, *The Rock-Cut Temples of India* (London: John Murray, 1864).

⁵⁵⁰ NLS Ms 42765 p. 125. Seddon (1868).

⁵⁵¹ NLS Ms 41103, Alfred Charles Smith to John Murray, December 27, 1867.

four illustrations would have reduced the book's profits by £50. Murray could probably have arranged for a slightly better price per print, but still, even a few photographic prints would have added a significant amount to the cost of producing a book. Unsurprisingly, Murray almost never opted for this method of illustration.

What, then, did Murray do when supplied with photographs to illustrate a book of travel? Almost without exception, as was typical of most publishers at the time, Murray supplied a traveller's selected photographs to a wood engraver, who would manually reproduce the image in a form that could be printed much more cheaply than a photographic print could be made. Smith's *The Nile and Its Banks* is typical of these publications, and the table of contents describes many of the illustrations as "from a photograph".⁵⁵² On examining the printed images, however, it is immediately obvious that they have been printed from wood engravings, not photographic negatives.

Several techniques improved the efficiency of creating relief-printable surfaces from photographs. From the 1860s, it was possible to photographically print images onto sensitised woodblocks. This innovation meant that any image, from a hand-drawn sketch to a photographic negative, could be mechanically reproduced onto a printable surface. Despite this improvement in efficiency, the task of carving away nonprinting areas and shading to create tone still had to be accomplished by hand, at the discretion of the engraver.⁵⁵³ The accuracy of the technique delighted Anne Blunt, who wrote to Murray: "I have just received a proof photograph from one of my drawings, which has turned out so well that I shall have a photograph

⁵⁵² A.C. Smith, *The Attractions of the Nile and Its Banks* (London: John Murray, 1868). p. xxiv.

⁵⁵³ De Maré (1980), p. 50.

done on the wood and sent direct to you, and it might then be cut as an experiment".⁵⁵⁴ From the 1870s, the line-block process used acid to etch away the ground from a drawing photographed onto a block.⁵⁵⁵ As shading was not possible, though, it was only suited to simple images in which only the outline of a form needed to be shown. Sydney Hickson wrote to Murray in a list of queries: "B. Uncoloured illustrations. I should be glad to know what plans you would propose for dealing with these. My own idea is that the so called 'line process' as per sample I showed you would do very well for weapons, implements and the like, that a wash process would do for some of the simpler sketches but that some of the more difficult landscapes must be done by the wood engraver".⁵⁵⁶

The engraver's intervention in the communication of images from travellers to readers affected the cost of producing an illustrated book, as well as the credibility of the images communicated to the reading public. Ryan (2005) has noted that publishers sometimes welcomed the element of mediation introduced when a photograph was copied by an engraver, since scenes could be made more dramatic, or more attractive.⁵⁵⁷ Furthermore, images of movement or action were almost impossible to capture successfully. For example, Albert Bickmore's *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago* (1868) contained 36 illustrations (which Murray had negotiated down from Bickmore's initial demand for 50 plates), but only five in his List of Illustrations are described as "from photographs".⁵⁵⁸ Writing to Murray about

⁵⁵⁴ NLS Ms 40126, Anne Isabella Noel Blunt to John Murray, September 15, 1880.

⁵⁵⁵ De Maré (1980).

⁵⁵⁶ NLS Ms 40556, Sydney Hickson to John Murray, February 15, 1889.

⁵⁵⁷ Ryan (2005).

⁵⁵⁸ NLS Ms 40095, Albert Bickmore to John Murray, June 13, 1868. Bickmore (1868).

the book's illustrations, Bickmore volunteered that he had "27 photographs of card size", but also that:

There will also be a few scenes which I shall minutely describe, that I wish your draughtsman to represent, for example in brief, my peril once on a volcano where I was only saved from instant destruction by seizing a fern, on another occasion where I crossed a bridge of rattan about 400 feet long and 200 feet above a foaming torrent, and again where I killed a huge boa constrictor alone in a hand to hand conflict in a boat where neither of us could escape from the other.⁵⁵⁹

Photographic technology could not perfectly capture a traveller's experience. Just as earlier authors who had not carried camera equipment had discovered, images assembled from a traveller's memories, sketches, and the imagination of an illustrator allowed Bickmore to be physically present and visually dynamic in the book's illustrations, thus providing an additional source of the originality and incident which Murray demanded from a new work of travels.

To take advantage of a photograph's connotations of credibility and immediacy, it was necessary to for author and publisher to specifically note the origin of a photographic illustration. A woodcut reproduction of a photograph reveals little of its origin; viewed even from a reasonable distance, these illustrations are obviously drawn and cut. Examining fine detail, especially in faces, it becomes clear that in order for photograph to become wood engraving, the engraver had a major role in shaping the visual effect of the printed image. As a consequence, lists of illustrations often clearly state "from a photograph", a more prestigious label than "from a sketch by the author" and one which confirmed the expertise, logistical

⁵⁵⁹ NLS Ms 40095, Albert Bickmore to John Murray, May 13, 1868.

coordination, and technical sophistication (as well as expense) necessary to capture images while travelling. Typically, the caption “From a photograph” is noted immediately beneath a scene’s description, as in the case of Edward Rae’s *The Land of the North Wind*, which Murray published in 1875. [Figure 6.9]

The Case of William Ellis

While a reference to photographic technology gave prestige to an illustration, the engraving process invariably introduced unintended differences between photograph and printed woodcut. The experience of missionary William Ellis demonstrates how the process of reproducing photographs as woodcuts could complicate the relationship between subject and printed image. Modern geographical scholarship has contested the notion of the photograph as a neutral and inherently credible representation of the photographer’s experience.⁵⁶⁰ For nineteenth-century readers, though, photographs were presented as authentic representations of peoples and locations observed on-the-spot by an explorer.⁵⁶¹ Ellis sent prints of his photographs to Murray, which were reproduced as wood engravings and printed in his published narratives. The British readers of Ellis’ narratives had no access to his original negatives, or to their subjects. However, the journey of Ellis’ books back to Madagascar, and to the people depicted in them, proved problematic. The mediated

⁵⁶⁰ See, for example, G. Belknap, “Through the Looking Glass: Photography, Science and Imperial Motivations in John Thomson’s Photographic Expeditions”, *History of Science* 52:1(2014) 73–97. and E. Edwards, “Review: The Working of Miracles. William Ellis: Photography in Madagascar 1853–1865 by Simon Peers”, *Journal of Museum Ethnography*:8(1996) 125–128. P. Prodger, *Darwin’s Camera: Art and Photography in the Theory of Evolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵⁶¹ Schwartz and Ryan (2003).

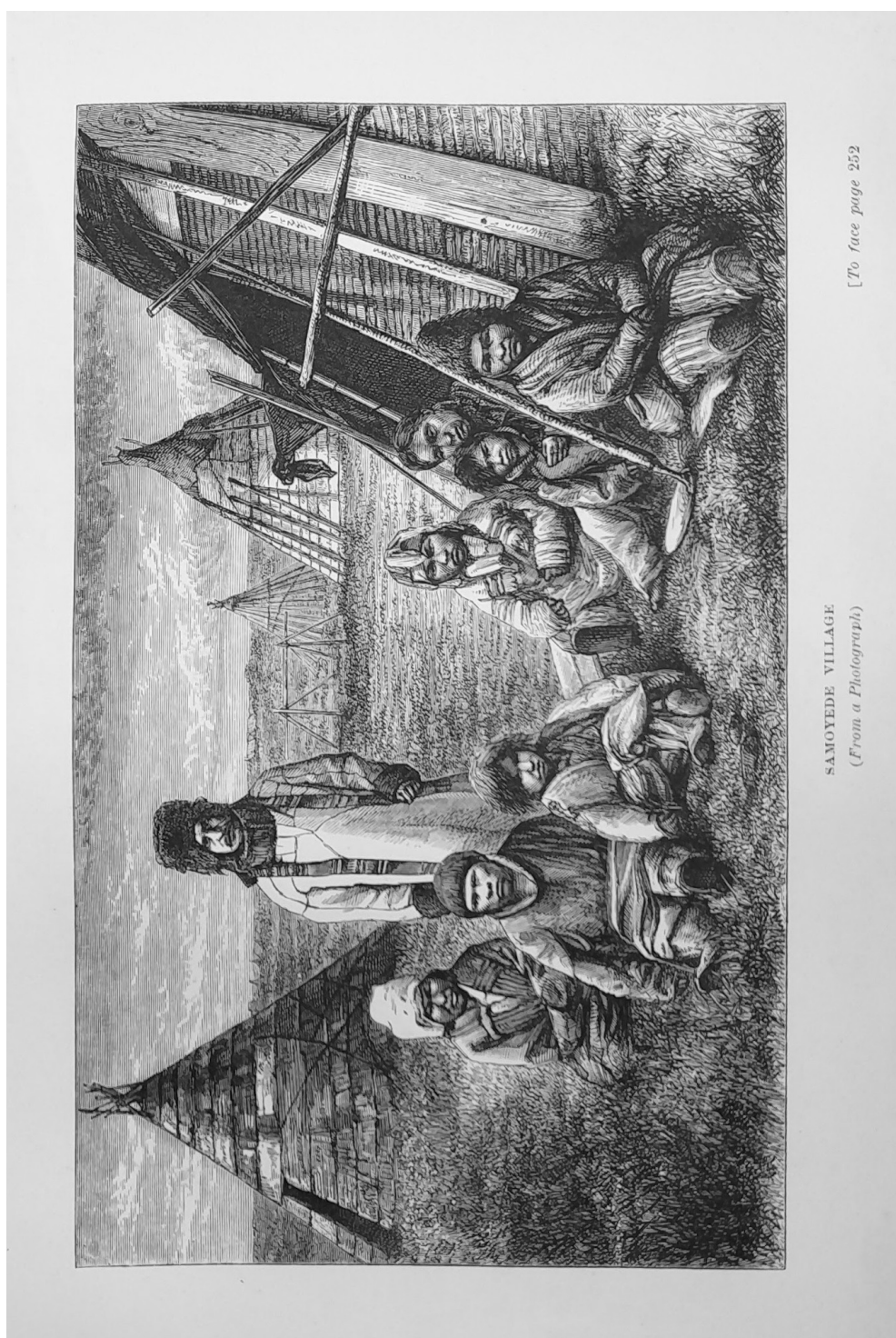


Figure 6.9

"Samoyede Village", wood engraving by James Cooper, from a photograph. E. Rae, *The Land of the North Wind* (London: John Murray, 1875) facing p. 252.

woodcut images raised issues of credibility and authenticity because they were created by the hand of an artist, and not from life by Ellis himself.

Ellis was a missionary in Madagascar and an experienced letterpress printer as well an early practitioner of photography.⁵⁶² Trained in the use of the wet collodion process, which required immediate access to a darkroom and developing chemicals, he employed his equipment during his travels despite difficult climatic conditions. The results were varied, but Ellis produced a number of good negatives which are the earliest surviving photographs of Madagascar.⁵⁶³ Ellis devotes several pages to the description of his photographic techniques, and the reaction he received from the local people, in *Three Visits to Madagascar* (1858):

When I had adjusted the focus, I told them that the instrument was used for taking people's likenesses in a minute or two by means of the sun or the light. When they looked and saw the accuracy of the figure, with all the minute detail of the features of the persons standing before the instrument, as shown on the ground glass, they appeared extremely delighted.⁵⁶⁴

Ellis' portraits proved popular among both the common people and the Malagasy nobility, and served admirably as a means to gain access to the royal family and promote the work of the London Missionary Society.⁵⁶⁵

From his published narratives and the letters Ellis wrote to John Murray, it is clear that the missionary was proud of his photographic accomplishments and was eager to share his images with his British readers. The illustrations that appeared in

⁵⁶² A. Johnston, "The Strange Career of William Ellis", *Victorian Studies* 49:3(2007) 491–501.

⁵⁶³ S. Peers, "William Ellis: Photography in Madagascar, 1853–65", *History of photography* 21:1(1997) 23–31.

⁵⁶⁴ W. Ellis, *Three Visits to Madagascar* (London: John Murray, 1858). p. 130–131.

⁵⁶⁵ Edwards (1996).

his books, though, were not photographic prints but woodcut reproductions of Ellis' images often prominently described as "from a photograph". Ellis' *Three Visits* contains 28 woodcut illustrations, most of which are based on the author's photographic views. It was the first book to have the majority of its illustrations so produced, according to the *Journal of the Photographic Society's* review in December 1858.⁵⁶⁶ Ellis' *Madagascar Revisited* (1867) contains a further 13 illustrations produced in the same manner.⁵⁶⁷

Ellis was a devoted photographer who went to great lengths to obtain access to his subjects and transport the necessary equipment to remote sites under challenging conditions. Questions of technology and cost, though, prevented Ellis from including original photographs in his books. Murray ultimately printed three editions of *Three Visits*, 4500 copies in all, containing a total of more than 125,000 illustrations.⁵⁶⁸ With such a large number of illustrations, cost-per-print was a major consideration when deciding what images to include and how they would be reproduced. While the major cost of including wood engravings in a printed book was the initial expense of drawing and cutting the block, the main expense of a photographic plate was not the creation of the negative but the cost of its printing. Wood engravings could be printed on an ordinary letterpress as many times as necessary, with very little additional cost per copy. Each photograph, however, would incur a similar unit cost to the first because of the manual labour involved in

⁵⁶⁶ Peers (1997).

⁵⁶⁷ W. Ellis, *Madagascar Revisited* (London: John Murray, 1867).

⁵⁶⁸ NLS Ms 42730(e), p. 432, 433.

making the prints. Photographs were therefore a substantially more expensive method than woodcuts of illustrating a new book.⁵⁶⁹

Ellis notes in his published narrative that the prince and princess of Madagascar were pleased with the photographs he developed on-the-spot in his portable darkroom. “They were quite astonished, and the princess could not restrain the expression of her surprise and wonder, as the colourless plate became darkened, and the picture came out of itself more and more distinctly... and the prince said it was so like, it was the princess herself”.⁵⁷⁰ Several of Ellis’ surviving prints and negatives were the subject of a 1995 exhibition. The published catalogue makes it possible to compare Ellis’ original images with their engraved counterparts.⁵⁷¹ [Figure 6.10, 6.11] Whymper has reproduced the form of the figures with good accuracy, but the variability in the quality of Ellis’ photographic prints, and the difficulty of creating tone in wood engraving, complicated the task of creating fine detail and shading. A particular area of difficulty was the skin tone of Ellis’ sitters, which appears bleached or very dark depending on how each photograph was exposed and developed; substantial variation is evident in a number of Ellis’ surviving images. From these photographs, it is clear that the wood engraver, who had of course never met the Malagasy royalty in person, would have needed to use his own discretion in choosing how to reproduce skin tone.

In October 1861, Ellis wrote to John Murray requesting a copy of his book, and a favour while preparing for another journey to Madagascar: a specially printed

⁵⁶⁹ Ryan (2005).

⁵⁷⁰ Ellis (1858), p. 412–413.

⁵⁷¹ S. Peers, *The Working of Miracles: William Ellis: Photography in Madagascar 1853–1865* (London: British Council, 1995). Reviewed in Edwards (1996). See also Peers (1997).

copy of one of the illustrations. He wrote: "I have recollected that I shall want a copy of the 'Visits' for the Prince. The plate of the Prince and Princess is so dark that they would not be pleased with it. Could you have an impression taken very faint so that I might have it coloured and bound up...?"⁵⁷² Ellis wished to present his narrative to the prince of Madagascar, but was clearly concerned about the wood engravings as they had been printed for the book. By asking for a new print to be made from the existing block, with less pressure on the plate, Ellis implies that the lighter impression would also lighten the skin tone of the sitters. Ellis would then be able to bind the resulting image into the presentation copy, hopefully satisfying the king and queen as to the accuracy and appropriateness of their portrait.

Murray's reply is not recorded, but even if the publisher did succeed in obtaining a fresh impression of the block in question, the effort was not sufficient to suppress the Malagasy royalty's criticism of their printed images. In October 1866, Ellis wrote to John Murray about the illustrations for his next book:

I have been thinking over the portraits we selected yesterday and have some doubt... They did not like the portraits of the King and Queen in the last book and perhaps that was one reason why I did not get the queen to sit for her portrait. Unless therefore they were done very well I would submit whether it would not be as well to leave them out.⁵⁷³

Ellis quickly wrote again concerning other portraits in his new narrative: "I should esteem it a favour if you will ask Mr. Whymper to bestow as much care as he can on the faces and to bear in mind that they are not black and thick lipped. My former

⁵⁷² NLS Ms 40377, William Ellis to John Murray, October 19, 1861.

⁵⁷³ NLS Ms 40377, William Ellis to John Murray, October 10, 1866.



Figure 6.10

"The Prince and Princess Royal of Madagascar", wood engraving by Edward Whymper from a photograph. W. Ellis, *Three Visits to Madagascar* (London: John Murray, 1858) facing p. 413.



[6]

Princess Rabodo, later Queen Rasoheryna, Tuesday 23 September 1856
Talata 23 Septemba 1856, Rabodo Zanakandriana Iasa
Rasoherymanjaka tato aoriana



[3]

Princess Ralefoka daughter of Prince Ramonja, 1856
Taona 1856, Ny Andriambavy Ralefoka zanaka
evavin-dRamonja Printsy

Figure 6.11

Page of an exhibition catalogue reproducing photographic prints of negatives taken by William Ellis in Madagascar, circa 1850s. S. Peers, *The Working of Miracles: William Ellis: Photography in Madagascar 1853-1865* (London: British Council, 1995).

book was not acceptable on account of the faces of the King and Queen”.⁵⁷⁴ Despite their expressed pleasure at the photographic portraits and prints Ellis produced on the spot, the Malagasy royalty were profoundly unhappy with the means by which they had been introduced to Murray’s readers. The Malagasy royalty rightly recognised that their image had been released to the British public in a manner beyond their control, and in what they considered an inaccurate and unflattering light. The implication of Ellis’ letter to Murray, then, is that the queen wished to avoid having another portrait taken, fearing a second sitting would result in no more accurate a public image.

The process of reproducing Ellis’ photographs for his published narrative thus directly influenced his later photographic practice: he was not permitted to take more photographs of the queen. The incident also had repercussions for Ellis’ next book, *Madagascar Revisited* (1867). Like Ellis’ first narrative, it was extensively illustrated from the missionary’s camera work. All but one of its thirteen illustrations are prominently captioned “from a photograph”; the remaining image, of a chained and persecuted Christian, was drawn by the author’s wife, the “fetters from those in Mr. Ellis’ possession”.⁵⁷⁵ These wood engravings, noted in Murray’s ledger at an expense of £122, nearly doubled the cost of production; Murray paid Bradbury and Evans £162 to print 2500 copies of the book’s text.⁵⁷⁶ Notably, in this second book, Ellis included a portrait of Christian martyr Rainitsontsoraka, as well as members of

⁵⁷⁴ NLS Ms 40377, William Ellis to John Murray, October 22, 1866.

⁵⁷⁵ Ellis (1867), p. 63.

⁵⁷⁶ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 401.

the Malagasy government, but ultimately decided not to include a single portrait of the island's royalty.⁵⁷⁷

Ellis' case is unusual in that few of the subjects of illustrated travel books were in any position to comment on the way they were represented. However, it is critical to recognise that the way a photograph was copied, by the hand of a craftsman who had never seen its subject in person, could have a significant influence on the subsequent interpretation of that image. The Malagasy royalty photographed by Ellis did not want to be seen as black Africans, but the photographs of their exact likeness could not easily be distributed. It was the woodcut reproduction of their image, interpreted by a British wood engraver whom they had never met and then copied thousands of times, that introduced the Prince and Princess of Madagascar to the British public.

Conclusions

The process by which observations made in the course of travel become printed images has many parallels with the translation of in-the-field notes and journals into their published textual form. In each case, the intervention of editors, publishers, and other members of the book trade affects the published result. The technical requirements of printing book illustrations make these interventions particularly evident. When travellers brought collections home with them, the natural specimens, clothing, weapons, and other objects could be used to illustrate public lectures and presentations in which the audiences could directly examine the strange artefacts, and could also be used by an artist as models for a book's illustrations. In the case of

⁵⁷⁷ Ellis (1867), p. 74, 220.

landscape views, portraits, or crucial incidents of a narrative, however, travellers could not return with the entirety of the scenes they wished to depict. As a result, travellers were instructed to record their observations at the point of encounter — not only in words but in images, through in-the-field sketches, and, in the later nineteenth century, photographs.

The illustrations in the travel narratives which Murray published were the result of a collaborative process which could involve a variety of agents: author, illustrator, engraver, printer, and binder. Murray worked with authors to select illustrations and maps which would balance visual appeal against the substantial cost of production. Over the course of the nineteenth century, advancements in printing and illustration technology fundamentally changed the process of illustrating travel books. These developments, particularly in photographic technology, affected truth claims and the perception of authenticity in travellers' narratives. For most of the later nineteenth century, though, the gap between what could be visually observed and recorded, and what could be affordably printed, had a substantial impact on how travellers were able to communicate their experiences to a reading public.

As the example of William Ellis demonstrates, the practice of manually reproducing photographic illustrations for publication in works of travel and exploration has implications not only for the cost of the resulting volumes, but for the accuracy and credibility of the images. The representation of travel and exploration in printed illustrations was contingent not simply on the intention of the author, but on technological and financial limitations that had a considerable influence on the means by which visual information could be communicated to the reading public. In making claims about the ways in which travellers observed and

recorded their journeys, it is critical to recognise the difference between sketch or photographic negative as a singular material object, and woodcut, engraving or lithograph as a reproduction of the original.

An oversupply of qualified wood engravers and the increasing dominance of photomechanical reproduction meant that by the end of the century, prices for wood-engraving work were depressed and the industry was in decline.⁵⁷⁸ A studio portrait of Isabella Bird, produced by Meisenbach's new "autotype process", takes pride of place as the frontispiece in her *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* (1891).⁵⁷⁹

Meisenbach's early form of grid lithography heralded the end of the era of wood-engraved illustrations.⁵⁸⁰ By the turn of the twentieth century, half-tone and line block processes made it possible to photomechanically reproduce both photographs and hand-drawn sketches at a fifth of the cost of comparable wood engravings.⁵⁸¹

With photomechanical illustrations quickly becoming faster and cheaper to produce, the wood-engraving trade, which had boomed in the nineteenth century, virtually disappeared. Travellers no longer had to be concerned about how their on-the-spot observations were being redrawn by another hand.

⁵⁷⁸ Beegan (1995), p. 270.

⁵⁷⁹ Bird (1891).

⁵⁸⁰ J. Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2008). p. 919.

⁵⁸¹ Twyman (1970), p. 32.

Chapter 7

Sales and Advertising: Spreading Travellers' Tales

After a book was accepted, edited, illustrated, and printed, Murray needed to sell enough copies to recoup his investment in the work and, preferably, make a profit from the undertaking. As a wholesaler, Murray did not distribute books directly to consumers, instead arranging for booksellers and circulating libraries to purchase copies in quantity. While his place in the market meant that Murray was not directly responsible for promoting his works to their eventual readers, it was in the publisher's best interest to encourage strong demand. This chapter will consider Murray's strategies for advertising his later nineteenth-century books of travel; how the publisher worked to open markets for his books abroad; and how Murray catered to an evolving market of readers by printing new editions of his publications.

The consideration of readers' responses to Murray's later nineteenth-century books of travel is largely outside the scope of this PhD. The records of the John Murray Archive are focused on the business of publishing: the evaluation and editing of manuscripts, printing of text, maps, and illustrations, and sales of the finished volumes. Consequently, the archive preserves little material relating to the reception of Murray's books by readers and reviewers. Surviving correspondence between Murray and his authors does provide strong evidence of reading which took place during the publishing process: initially in the decision to accept or reject a manuscript, later in editing and proofing, and ultimately in the reaction of authors on seeing their books published. However, understanding how paying readers of Murray's travel narratives experienced and responded to these texts, and even who

those readers were, is not generally possible given the archive's content. Because Murray sold his books wholesale to the trade, the publisher's records do not record demographic information about sales to individuals. Except when authors forwarded particularly laudatory letters to Murray, the archive rarely preserves evidence of individual readers' responses. By examining Murray's advertising practices and expenses, his arrangements with foreign publishers for the sale of his books, and the ways he adjusted the content and appearance of later editions, though, it is nevertheless possible to characterise who Murray perceived his readers to be, if not how his readers reacted to those books.

The Season for Books

After an author had returned from travelling, it was important for Murray to move through the publication process as quickly as possible. If the book were delayed, the public's interest might become stale and detailed accounts of the journey in newspapers or other periodicals might compromise sales of the finished narrative. Because many steps of the process were beyond his direct control, however, it was difficult for Murray to bring out new books on schedule. Nathan Davis, writing to Murray at the end of February, remarked of his *Ruined Cities within Numidian and Carthaginian Territories*: "I do not suppose it possible however that it will be possible to finish it — print prepare illustrations & publish before next season i.e. the beginning of November. Very few books will be read here this year after the middle of April, I suspect".⁵⁸² Davis' speculation was correct: the volume did not appear in

⁵⁸² NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to Nathan Davis, February 26, 1862.

Murray's publication ledger until the 14th of November.⁵⁸³ Davis' mention of the "season" confirms a fact which was well known to Murray: the market for books in Britain operated on a strict annual publishing schedule.

New books were brought out primarily in the autumn and winter, with November being "the most propitious season in the year".⁵⁸⁴ The summer was deemed hopeless, as many potential buyers would be away from cities and their local booksellers. Writing to one American publisher about a proposed joint publication on the Sandwich Islands, Murray remarked that the book should be delayed until the following autumn, since: "I cannot hope to succeed with an English Edition brought out between May and October".⁵⁸⁵ He confirmed this pattern in a letter to Henry Walter Bates: "not a moment should be lost, for that season is fast passing away and if the spring should pass it is not for the book's interest to appear before November".⁵⁸⁶ This late autumnal season for publishing corresponded with the time of year when Murray's wealthier clientele would be in London; summers, travelling, or residence in the countryside would put them beyond easy reach of reputable booksellers.

A November season for new books also coincided with the season for holiday gift-giving. The importance of Christmas sales for newly published books increased substantially in the second half of the nineteenth century. While January publications were relatively common in the middle of the century, these decreased dramatically as publishers became more focused on targeting the Christmas market.⁵⁸⁷ A review of

⁵⁸³ NLS Ms 42771.

⁵⁸⁴ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Henry Guillemard, August 20, 1886.

⁵⁸⁵ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to G.W. Smalley, March 25, 1874.

⁵⁸⁶ NLS Ms 41913, John Murray to Henry Walter Bates, February 24, 1862.

⁵⁸⁷ Eliot (1994), p. 42.

Ernest George's *Etchings on the Mosel* (1873) published in the *Saturday Review* commented: "Nothing among the Christmas books which have come before us is more interesting than these etchings on the Mosel. We feel that we do the artist but scant justice in classifying his work among a host of volumes which, meritorious as they are in a strictly Christmas point of view, show no great original or artistic power. This book is scarcely a book to give away: it is something better — it is a book to keep".⁵⁸⁸ Of the 125 travel narratives recorded in Murray's publication ledger for the period 1860–1892, just over half were published in the three months before Christmas.⁵⁸⁹ The practice among British publishers of bringing out the greatest number of new books in October, November, and early December, what Murray described to one author as "the most propitious season in the year", continued for at least a century.⁵⁹⁰

Selling to the Trade

Another incentive to publish in time for the Christmas season was the chance to be included in the offerings at one of Murray's celebrated sale dinners. In order to encourage sales of his new books, John Murray III carried on his father's tradition of hosting dinners for the bookselling trade. These sociable events would conclude with orders being taken for newly published works, each bookseller writing his name and the number of copies to be purchased on a sales subscription list.⁵⁹¹ [Figure 7.1]

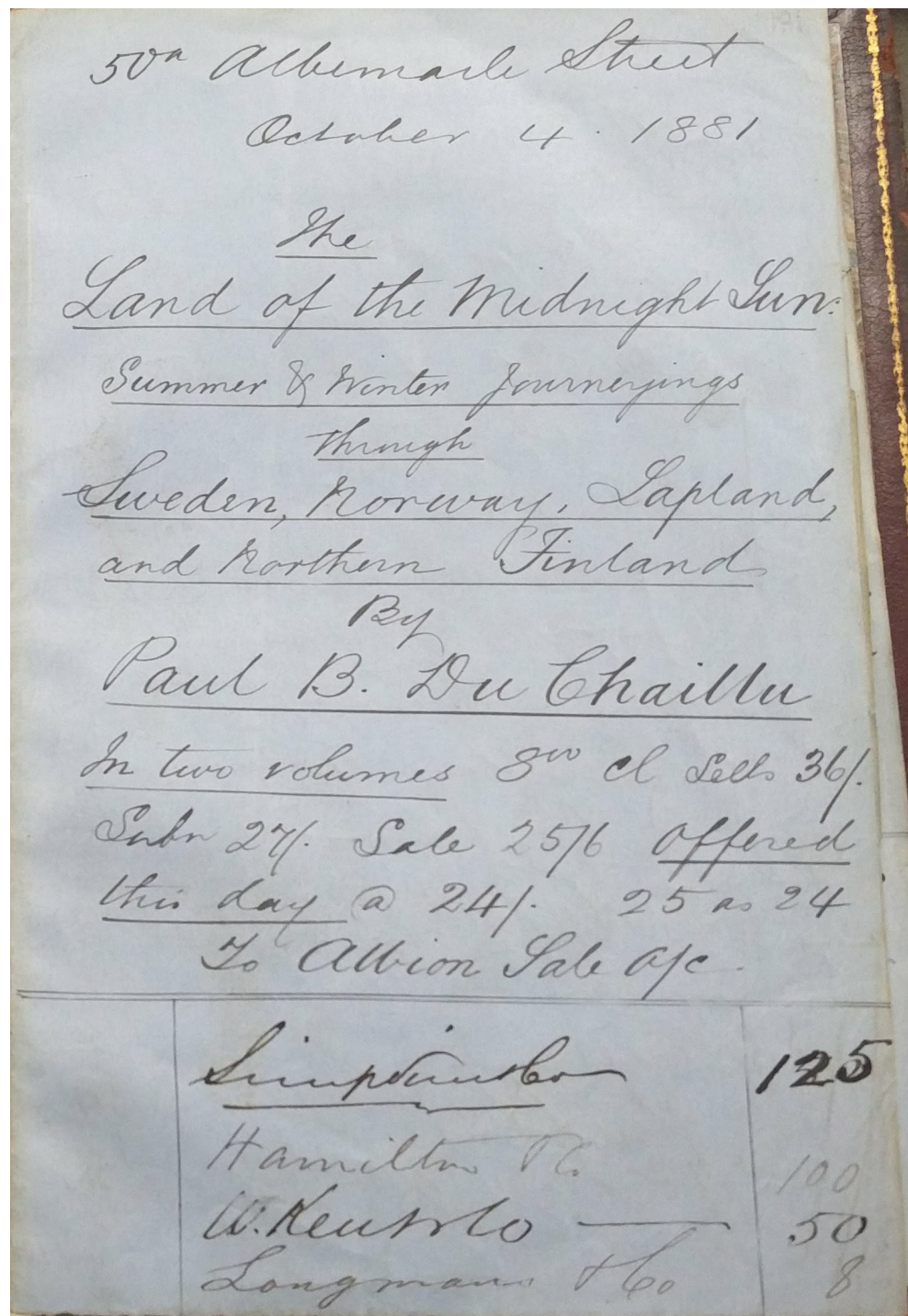
Advance sales, directly to the trade, were a clear benefit to Murray, reducing the cost

⁵⁸⁸ Quoted in an advertising leaf inserted in George (1875).

⁵⁸⁹ NLS Ms 42771.

⁵⁹⁰ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Henry Guillemard, August 20, 1876. Eliot (1994).

⁵⁹¹ Carpenter (2008), p. 73; Paston (1932), p. 70.

**Figure 7.1**

Entry for Paul Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun* in Murray's Sales Subscription Book, October 4, 1881.
NLS Ms 42828, f. 191.

of storing unsold copies and minimising shipping costs which could be incurred by sales to individual readers. Murray offered an additional discount at these evenings, incentivising booksellers to purchase substantial numbers of copies despite the fact that the works in question had generally not yet been published — or, more importantly, reviewed.

The public nature of these subscriptions increased social pressure on booksellers to take on more copies than they might otherwise have agreed to. Austen Henry Layard reported upon the practice to a friend, noting the hazards incurred by over-enthusiastic buyers: “[My *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*] will be presented to the assembled booksellers for a part of their desert [*sic*] on the occasion of the annual dinner which takes place on the 3 Nov. I believe if they devour it too greedily, as John Murray hopes and expects they will, I wish them joy of the indigestion from which they will eventually suffer”.⁵⁹²

Murray’s sales subscription lists make it possible to trace the individual booksellers and libraries which subscribed to purchase copies of Murray’s publications. These lists circulated in advance of publication — not only at Murray’s dinners — and offered new works at a discount substantially below the ordinary trade price. A title such as Lady Anne Blunt’s *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* (1881), sold to the public at 24 shillings, would ordinarily be offered to booksellers at 18 shillings. with the additional standard incentive of 25 copies sold for the price of 24.⁵⁹³

The trade price was often 25 to 40 percent lower than the price advertised to the public, a conventional discount for the British market. Abroad, however,

⁵⁹² Ms 42338, Austen Henry Layard to Elizabeth Eastlake, October 31, 1887.

⁵⁹³ NLS Ms 42828, Sales Subscription Lists for 1877–1881, f. 157–158. Note that while invitingly titled, Murray’s Sales Ledgers Ms 42852 (July 1857–1874) and Ms

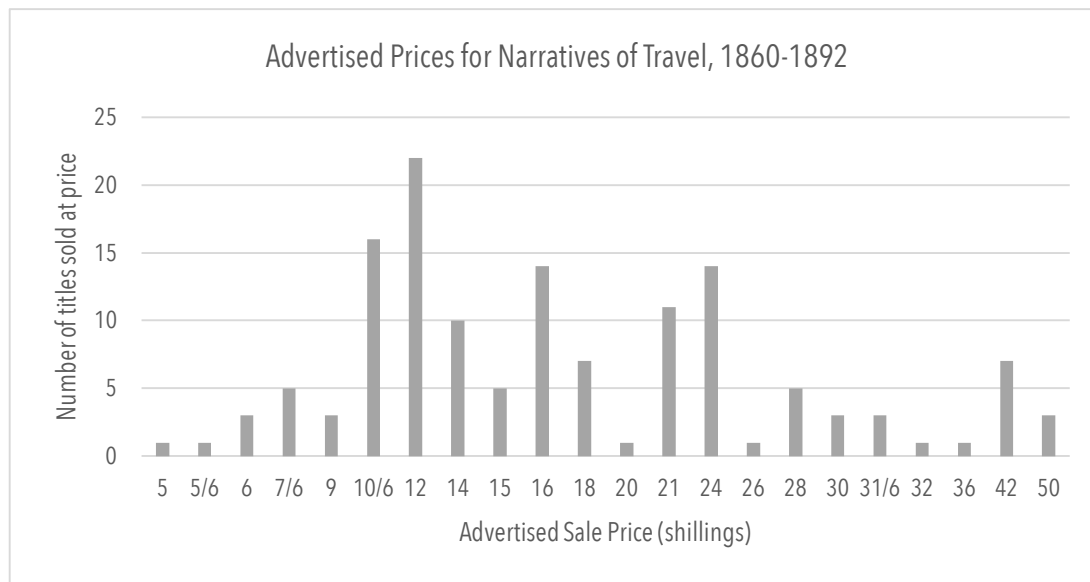


Figure 7.2: Advertised sale price for narratives of travel published by John Murray, 1860-1892 (n=137). Note, however, that Murray did not receive the full advertised price for the sale of his publications. The price at which a new work was sold to the trade varied substantially based on the quantity purchased and the timing of a purchase relative to publication or to one of Murray's sale dinners. Furthermore, Murray offered deep discounts when he needed to dispose of excess stock. The reductions in price were not standardised.

practices were shifting towards payment for authors based on sales commissions. In a letter to American author Albert Bickmore, Murray explained that such a commission arrangement would be impossible for a book published in Britain: "I am sorry, however, I cannot accept your proposal to pay you 10 and 15 per cent on all copies sold — that arrangement however usual in America would not be fair to the publisher here owing to the much larger allowances we make to the trade — thus a volume nominally bearing the price of 21/- is sold by me to the trade for 13/-".⁵⁹⁴ The only commission arrangements Murray accepted were based on the opposite system: authors accepted the full risk, and paid Murray ten per cent of any profits for the privilege of the publisher's assistance and imprint.

42853 (1875–1901) record copies charged to the accounts of individual authors, not those charged to booksellers.

⁵⁹⁴ NLS Ms 41913, p. 329. John Murray to Albert Bickmore, April 14, 1868.

Price reductions for pre-publication sales subscriptions allowed booksellers to increase their potential profits, but also increased the risk they assumed by acquiring large numbers of copies which they were not guaranteed to sell. Similarly, Murray could adjust his profits by varying his discount to the trade, but a higher price could lead booksellers to subscribe for fewer copies of a new work. The degree to which the trade price was discounted varied by title. Elton's *Travels and Researches among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa* (1879) was discounted only to 15 shillings from an advertised price of 21 shillings.⁵⁹⁵ The two shilling difference between the trade price Murray quoted to Bickmore and that of Elton's *Travels*, despite their identical advertised price of 21 shillings, may reflect the unusually high costs associated with the publication of Elton's narrative.

In examining Murray's subscription lists, the range of quantities purchased by the trade is immediately striking. Most booksellers signing the subscription book committed to buy fewer than ten copies of any individual title, and often requested only one or two copies from a print run of 1,500. Larger firms such as W.H. Smith and Son, major figures in the London book trade and proprietors of a modest subscription library, regularly arranged to purchase a few dozen copies.⁵⁹⁶ The wholesale distributor Simpkin and Co. was a key customer, regularly buying between 50 and 100 copies; these quantities were passed on to provincial booksellers in small numbers.⁵⁹⁷ Murray's most important customer in the genre of travel and

⁵⁹⁵ NLS Ms 42828, Sales Subscription List for 1877–1881, f. 69.

⁵⁹⁶ N. Hiley, "'Can't You Find Me Something Nasty?': Circulating Libraries and Literary Censorship in Britain from the 1890s to the 1910s" in *Censorship & the Control of Print*, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992) 123–147. p. 124.

⁵⁹⁷ M.J. Daunt, ed. *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2005). p. 278.

exploration was not a bookseller, however, but a circulating library.

Mudie's Select Library was Murray's biggest single customer, regularly placing orders in the hundreds of copies. Its business model relied on paying customers who supported the purchase of large numbers of newly published books.⁵⁹⁸ Paying a rate of one guinea per year, readers were permitted to take home one volume at a time. The cost of joining Mudie's was less than twice the price of one of Murray's typical books of travel, and substantially less than the cost of purchasing a single triple-decker novel outright. By 1862, Altick reports, Mudie had acquired more than 125,000 volumes in the genre of travel and adventure.⁵⁹⁹ While Mudie's was an excellent customer, it was also a demanding one. In order to preserve its profitability and ensure readers' interest in a curated collection of quality literature, the library would not take on "works of merely professional interest, novels by unknown authors, unless in general demand or possessing more than average ability, [or] ephemeral pamphlets".⁶⁰⁰ Mudie's guidelines made Murray, a notably conservative man, even more reluctant to publish in these genres, or to print anything which would offend Mudie's notoriously strict standards of moral decorum.⁶⁰¹

Mudie's library also refused to stock larger-format books, which Murray occasionally published and often struggled to profit from. A printed circular dated 1878 announces: "...quartos, costly illustrated works, and other books which are

⁵⁹⁸ Griest (1965), p. 107.

⁵⁹⁹ Altick (1957), p. 296.

⁶⁰⁰ NLS Ms 40855. Printed circular headed "Mudie's Select Library. Notice". January, 1878.

⁶⁰¹ L. Roberts, "Trafficking in Literary Authority: Mudie's Select Library and the Commodification of the Victorian Novel", *Victorian Literature and Culture* 34:01(2006) 1–25.

suited rather for the Drawing Room Table than the Circulating Library, are, for obvious reasons, almost invariably excluded".⁶⁰² Mudie's implication, then, is that the value in such large works is not their literary content: they are intended as show-pieces for long-term display by their owners, a use wasted on a service where most subscribers paid to take away only one volume at a time. This exclusion also extended to lavishly illustrated octavos, which Mudie complained to Murray were beyond the 15s. or 16s. trade price which he could feasibly afford for his library.⁶⁰³ In the case of Cesnola's *Cyprus*, which Murray initially offered to the trade at 33s. 6d., Mudie wrote suggesting that Murray issue a condensed edition (with fewer than the original 299 illustrations), specially for his benefit.⁶⁰⁴ Murray refused, on the sensible grounds that it was against both author's and publisher's interest to undercut sales of the original edition:

I know that that most interesting book is in the greatest demand at your Library, and yet I hear on all hands that you refuse it to your subscribers. This seems to me to be inconsistent with the pretensions of Mudie's Library to supply the Public with the Literature of the day. It is an act of great injustice to the Book itself, the price of which you know quite well is only in proportion to the outlay expended in producing it with all its illustrations.⁶⁰⁵

Undeterred, Mudie wrote the next day to Murray's cousin and business partner Robert Cooke with the same suggestion.⁶⁰⁶ No response is recorded, and the ledgers show no sign that Murray succumbed to Mudie's pleading.

⁶⁰² NLS Ms 40855. Printed circular headed "Mudie's Select Library. Notice". January, 1878.

⁶⁰³ NLS Ms 40855, Charles E. Mudie to John Murray, July 26, 1878.

⁶⁰⁴ NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 387.

⁶⁰⁵ NLS Ms 41915, p. 7. John Murray to Charles E. Mudie, July 25, 1878.

⁶⁰⁶ NLS Ms 40855, Charles E. Mudie to Edward Cooke, July 26, 1878.

In addition to a library, Mudie's was also a bookseller. Copies of books no longer in demand for circulation sold at dramatically discounted prices. The entry of these copies into the market could damage Murray's continuing sales; John Murray III recommended against publishing a new edition of James' *The Wild Tribes of the Soudan* (1883), because "the sale has ceased and [Mudie's] copies are on the market at ½ price".⁶⁰⁷ Mudie's also stocked new, deluxe books — gift books and bindings, including many titles at prices which made them too expensive to be included in the main circulating library.⁶⁰⁸ An advertising list issued by Mudie advertises Schliemann's *Mycenae* (1878), newly published, near the top of a catalogue of books for sale. At a price of 42s. in a good half calf binding, twice what a yearly subscription to the library cost, it would have been beyond the means of nearly all Mudie's regular customers.⁶⁰⁹

Murray's reliance on a circulating library as his most important customer for books of travel might seem to suggest a widening of Murray's target market to reflect more middle-class customers for travel literature. Though Mudie's did price its membership at a more affordable level than buying works outright, it still only catered to a fraction of British readers. Mudie, like John Murray, "always spoke of his patrons as 'the public'".⁶¹⁰ The public who could afford to join his library at the rate of one guinea per year was still a relatively small and select group of readers.

⁶⁰⁷ NLS Ms 43060, John Murray III to John Murray IV, September 18, 1885.

⁶⁰⁸ Griest (1965).

⁶⁰⁹ *Birthday Presents and Bridal Gifts: Catalogue of Books of the Best Authors, in Ornamental Bindings, on Sale at Mudie's Select Library, London*, (London: Mudie's Select Library, 1878).

⁶¹⁰ D.S. Roberts, "'Merely Birds of Passage': Lady Hariot Dufferin's Travel Writings and Medical Work in India, 1884–1888", *Women's History Review* 15:3(2006) 443–457. p. 14.

Highley (1992) estimates that in the last decade of the nineteenth century, only one percent of the British public were customers of the circulating library systems.⁶¹¹

Rather than attempting to capture the attention of new readers who could only afford cheap publications (with consequently small profit margins), then, Murray maintained his historical position as a gentleman publisher selling quality works to the upper end of the market.⁶¹²

Profit and Loss

Murray's copies ledgers record the publisher's total income from sales of each title, often on a yearly or half-yearly basis. In addition to their value in tracing the expenses of production for individual editions, these ledgers are the most accessible way to trace profit and loss for a large number of books. Nearly three quarters of the books of travel Murray published between 1860 and 1892 were profitable, but the degree of their successes varied widely. Rough totals of accounts in the copies ledgers suggest that Murray's average profit on a new book of travel published between 1860 and 1892 was about £80. Notably, consumer prices were generally stable in the period from 1860 to 1892, with the market experiencing deflation in several intervals; therefore, profits across this study can be roughly compared

⁶¹¹ Hiley (1992).

⁶¹² J. Raven, "The Book as a Commodity" in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. M.F. Suarez and M.L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). p. 97; St Clair (2007); Altick (1957).

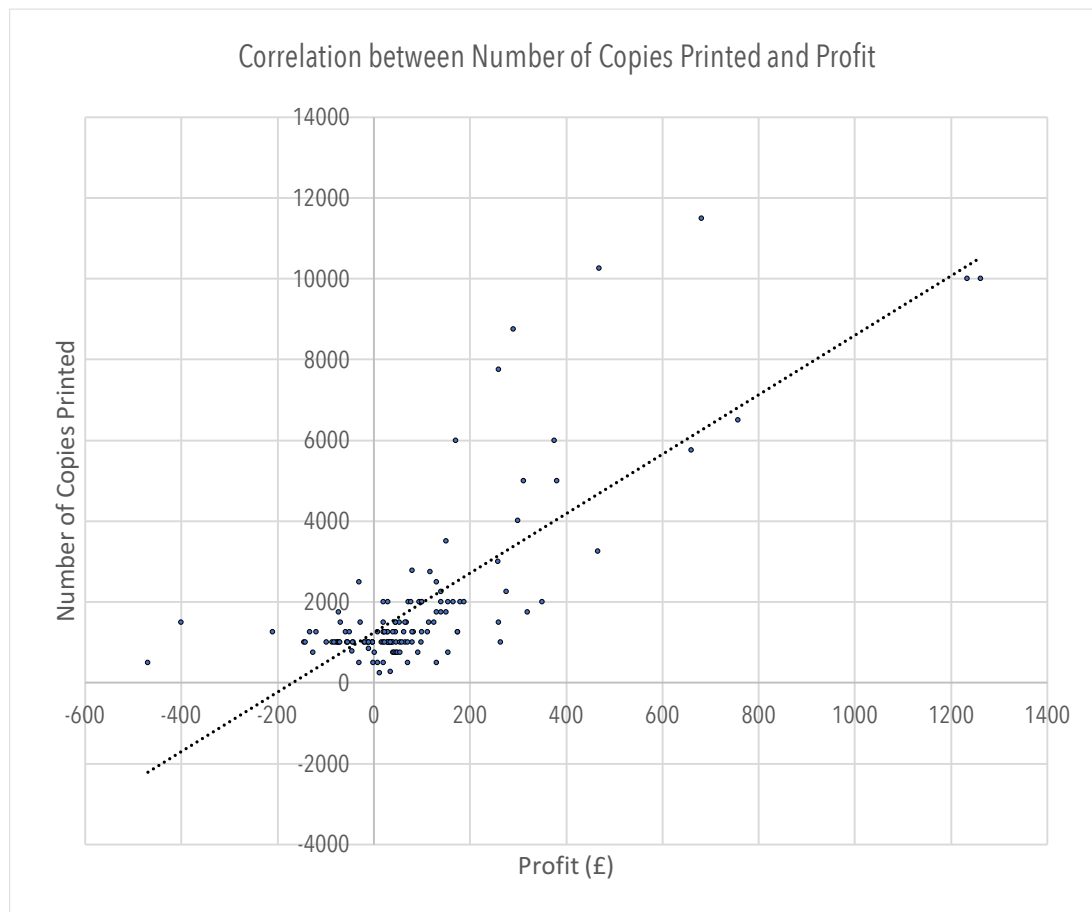


Figure 7.3: Correlation between number of copies printed and profit for narratives of travel published by John Murray, 1860-1892 (n=135).

without the need for adjustment.⁶¹³ At the extreme ends of the profit spectrum, Murray lost more than £470 on the five hundred copies of Edward William Cooke's *Leaves from my Sketch-Book* (1876), but earned more than £1200 from the sale of 10,000 copies of Du Chaillu's *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (1861).⁶¹⁴ Murray's most profitable books correlate strongly, as might be expected, with the number of copies printed. [Figure 7.3]

⁶¹³ See price index tables in R. Twigger, "Inflation: The Value of the Pound 1750–1998": Research Paper 99/20 (1999).

⁶¹⁴ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 141, 142, 230; Ms 42732(g), p. 381, 419; Ms 42733(h), p. 340.

Murray's most profitable books of travel were those by well-known public figures: Paul du Chaillu, David Livingstone, Harriot Georgina Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava (the Vicereine of India), and John MacGregor. The narratives Murray published added to their public recognition, but were not the first exposure the British public had to their travels and discoveries. The profit-sharing arrangements Murray made with these most profitable authors also reflects this fact: Murray only offered two-thirds profits to authors who he thought would be particularly successful or would receive competing offers from other publishers. Of Murray's ten most profitable narratives of travel published in the period 1860–1892, only MacGregor's *The Rob Roy on the Jordan* was sold on Murray's usual half-profit basis. [Table 7.1] Murray could afford to allow authors a higher percentage of their books' earnings where he was relatively certain of selling many copies and making a good profit. Nearly all the titles included were sold in very high quantity — seven times more, on average, than Murray's median print run for a book of travel.

The correlation between sales and profit is not absolute, however. Schliemann's *Troy and its Remains* (1875) earned Murray £350 but was printed in only 2,000 copies; because Murray purchased the right of translation from Schliemann inexpensively and kept the cost of illustration low, selling copies at a trade price of 28 or 30 shillings meant that profits were high even for a single, relatively modest print run.⁶¹⁵ Conversely, Bates' *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (1863) totalled 8750 copies printed by 1892, but high illustration costs and

⁶¹⁵ NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 392.

an expensive memorial edition with negligible profits meant that Murray gained under £300 from his efforts.⁶¹⁶

While they provide a general picture of the publisher's sales and expenses, Murray's copies ledgers do obscure some aspects of the business. It is possible to determine if individual titles, or groups of titles, earned the publisher a net profit, but these figures do not consider the costs of running a business: the cost of maintaining Murray's premises at Albemarle Street, paying employees, or providing income for the family, among other expenses. It is necessary to note that a book like Henry Villiers Stuart's *The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen* (1882), which earned author and publisher each about £8 in eight years, would have been a loss for Murray when these other factors are taken into account.⁶¹⁷ Furthermore, while this study excludes works of travel initially published before 1860, Murray continued to profit from a number of these titles well into the second half of the century. Gordon-Cumming's *The Lion Hunter in South Africa* (1856) was reprinted in 1863, 1870, 1873, 1879, 1883, and 1885; of 7500 copies in total, Murray produced and sold nearly two-thirds during the period of this study.⁶¹⁸ Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849) had a similarly long tail of sales, with 8,500 copies printed and sold between 1860 and 1891, while several of Isabella Bird's narratives continued to sell well into the twentieth century. In conclusion, then, the copies ledgers are a valuable but limited

⁶¹⁶ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 135, 226; Ms 42732(g), p. 347; Ms 42733(h), p. 150, 341.

⁶¹⁷ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 145; H.W. Villiers Stuart, *The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen* (London: John Murray, 1882).

⁶¹⁸ NLS Ms 42730(e), p. 273, 279; Ms 42731(f), p. 254. R. Gordon-Cumming, *The Lion Hunter in South Africa. Five Years' Adventure in the Far Interior of South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1856).

Most Profitable Narratives of Travel, 1860-1892	Author	First Published	Copies Printed	Profit to Murray	Profit-Sharing Arrangement
<i>Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa</i>	Paul du Chaillu	1861	10000	£1261.14.4	2/3 & 1/3
<i>The last journals of David Livingstone</i>	David Livingstone	1874	10000	£1233.13.2	2/3 & 1/3
<i>Our Viceregal Life in India</i>	Hariot Dufferin and Ava	1889	6500	£757.12.3	2/3 & 1/3
<i>The Rob Roy on the Jordan</i>	John MacGregor	1869	11500	£682.11.3	1/2 & 1/2
<i>Unbeaten Tracks in Japan</i>	Isabella Bird	1880	5750	£660.6.4	2/3 & 1/3
<i>A Boy's Voyage round the World</i>	Samuel Smiles (the younger)	1871	10250	£468.2.5	Commission, then 1/2 & 1/2, then Murray purchased copyright
<i>The Land of the Midnight Sun</i>	Paul du Chaillu	1881	3250	£466.3.15	2/3 & 1/3
<i>Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi</i>	David Livingstone	1865	5000	£381.19.9	2/3 & 1/3
<i>Travels amongst the great Andes</i>	Edward Whymper	1891	6000	£375.8.7	Commission
<i>Troy and its Remains</i>	Heinrich Schliemann	1875	2000	£350.0.0	Purchased copyright
Median for all narratives of travel, 1860-1892			1000	£40.00	1/2 & 1/2
Less Profitable Narratives of Travel, 1860-1892, Printed in High Numbers	Author	First Published	Copies Printed	Profit to Murray (approximate)	Profit-Sharing Arrangement
<i>Naturalist on the River Amazons</i>	Henry Walter Bates	1863	8750	£290.00	2/3 & 1/3
<i>The Hawaiian Archipelago</i>	Isabella Bird	1875	7750	£260.00	1/2 & 1/2, later 2/3 & 1/3
<i>Wild Wales</i>	George Borrow	1862	6000	£170.00	1/2 & 1/2
<i>A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains</i>	Isabella Bird	1879	5000	£312.00	2/3 & 1/3
<i>Scrambles Amongst the Alps</i>	Edward Whymper	1871	4009	£300.00	Commission
<i>Field paths and green lanes in Surrey and Sussex</i>	Louis Jennings	1877	3500	£150.00	1/2 & 1/2, later 2/3 & 1/3

Table 7.1: Most profitable narratives of travel published by John Murray in the period 1860-1892, as reflected in Murray's copies ledgers, NLS Ms 42730-42734. Profits calculated only to 1892; where sales extended beyond this date, additional revenue not reflected.

means by which to assess the financial and popular success or failure of Murray's publications.

Advertising to Readers

Although Murray sold to booksellers and libraries, not directly to readers, it was still in the publisher's best interest to encourage sales. The specifics of Murray's advertising activities are difficult to trace because the publisher's ledgers do not detail individual expenses associated with promoting his new books, including instead only total costs spent on publicity. Despite this absence, announcements in periodicals, advertisements included in Murray's publications, and correspondence with authors about reviews of their work provide evidence of several methods by which Murray encouraged the sale of his titles.

Murray's simplest form of advertising was to publish short announcements of a new work in the country's major papers. Confined to brief declarations of title, author, and price, their function in attracting new readers was limited. Furthermore, they were only briefly visible if printed in a daily or weekly paper. A more targeted, and longer-lasting method of advertising was Murray's printed "Literary Advertisers", small gatherings of two to twenty-four pages bound into the back of his publications. The only books into which Murray did not regularly bind these lists were folios and quartos, for the practical reason that the lists were sized for the octavo format. Relatively inexpensive to print in large quantity and easy to distribute, the advertisers allowed Murray more space than a printed announcement in a periodical. Furthermore, the cost of their printing could be charged against Murray's own advertising budgets, minimising the publisher's overall expense. Placed at the

end of nearly every one of Murray's books of travel, as well as the *Quarterly Review*, the advertisers reached a wide audience of readers. Critically, these readers were already demonstrably interested in the types of books Murray published.

Murray printed several different types of advertising lists, which were included singly or severally depending on the publication: General Lists of Works; Lists of New Works; Lists of Forthcoming Works; and subject-specific lists. Murray's generic, and most common list was his "General List of Works", which provided the basic information of author, title, price, and format for a variety of recently published books, as well as older stock not yet sold. Notably, the list never included the year of publication. This omission meant that readers perusing "Mr. Murray's List of Works of General Literature" for August, 1884 could not know that Mansfield Parkyns' *Abyssinia during a Three Years' Residence*, advertised at a relatively affordable 7s. 6d., was in fact the 1868 second edition of a work originally published in 1853.⁶¹⁹ This practice allowed Murray to maintain the appearance of having a large recent list of works, even when, in many cases, titles remained in stock for years or decades. The general list was designed with exceptionally large margins and a relatively small printed area so that it could be bound and trimmed to fit a wide variety of octavo page sizes.

Murray also printed subject-specific lists which grouped works by genre or area of interest. For example, a list of "Works relating to Art and Antiquities for April, 1878" included books of etchings by Ernest George and E.W. Cooke, the archaeological works of Cesnola and Schliemann, and Van-Lennep's narrative of

⁶¹⁹ *Mr. Murray's List of Works of General Literature for August, 1884* (London: John Murray, 1884). p. 9.

travels in Asia Minor, as well as biographies of artists and a Dictionary of the Bible. Notably, narratives I have defined as “books of travel” appear in nearly every category. “Mr Murray’s List of Works in General Literature” for January 1882 enters Bisset’s *Sport and War* in “Field Sports”, Seebohm’s ornithological *Siberia in Europe* in “Science, Natural History, Geology &c.”, and includes Markham’s *Peruvian Bark* as a contribution to “Rural and Domestic Economy”. The later nineteenth-century shift away from large, Admiralty-sponsored voyages of discovery is evident in an examination of the “Naval and Military” category, one of the few in which no work from this study is included.⁶²⁰

Printed approximately every three months to coincide with the publication of Murray’s *Quarterly Review*, the lists gave Murray a chance to target readers directly. While their primary content was similar to the brief publication announcements which appeared singly in major periodicals, Murray’s Lists of New Books and lists of Forthcoming Works often gave more space to individual titles, sometimes including short excerpts from reviews or the author’s preface. Even entries listing only the title of a new publication often added descriptive elements. Fanny Bridges’ *Journal of a Lady’s Travels Round the World* (1883) was advertised in a list of “New and Recent Books of Travel and Topography” as “A Lady’s Travels in Japan, Thibet, Yarkand, Kashmir, Java, and the Straits of Malacca, Vancouver’s Island, &c.”⁶²¹ The list is bound into the second, 1883 printing of Gill’s *The River of Golden Sand* (1880). Appealing to readers of Gill’s narrative of Chinese exploration, the list

⁶²⁰ *Mr. Murray’s List of Works of General Literature for January, 1882*, (London: John Murray, 1882).

⁶²¹ *New and Recent Books of Travel and Topography*, (London: John Murray, [1883]).

emphasises the specific locations of Bridges' travels in the far east. The extended descriptions included in this type of subject-specific list consistently emphasise the novelty of travel and the experience or other authority of the narrator. How many readers took the time to read these lists in detail, however, is impossible to determine.

Managing Reviewers

Once a book had been published and its release had been announced in the major papers, Murray relied on reviews to keep the title in the mind of the public. While these printed reviews had no direct cost to Murray, they were not free advertising. Murray distributed copies at no cost to potential reviewers, with no guarantee of any public acknowledgement of the new book, let alone a positive review. A typical work might have 20 to 50 copies removed from the potential sales in this manner, and a higher-profile publication many more: Murray distributed 163 copies of Livingstone's *Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its tributaries* (1865) free of charge.⁶²² Removing two percent of available copies from circulation in this way, in addition to the dozen copies which Murray provided for free to authors, could create a significant impact on revenue. Giving away thirty copies of a book with a trade price of fifteen shillings, for example, would cost Murray more than twenty pounds in potential profits. In a business where profit and loss were far more often measured in the tens of pounds than the hundreds, choosing how many copies to distribute for free, and to whom, was an important decision. While authors often suggested particular papers or periodicals which they hoped would review their

⁶²² NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 357.

books, I have not located a standard list of publications to which Murray consistently sent review copies.⁶²³

Authors often wrote to Murray with frustration that reviews of their books were slow to appear. Murray had little control over other publishers' content, however. The ever-suspicious Cesnola reported to Murray that an acquaintance: "wrote to me again a few days ago saying that he cannot understand the reason why the London Times has not yet published his review of my book the MS of which he handed over to the editor long ago".⁶²⁴ Cesnola, who wrote constantly to Murray with inquiries and suggestions about the sale of his *Cyprus*, complained to the publisher earlier in the same letter that the book was not receiving enough notice in the press. Although he does not directly accuse Murray of a failure to advertise properly, the implication is clear:

I have yours of the 23rd ultimo with the enclosed extract from the Saturday Review for which I thank you... Several English friends of mine sent me packages of newspapers with articles on Cyprus but with the exception of the "Daily News" not one mentioned my name, my discoveries, or my work! It is really as the Saturday Review says rather curious. An American publisher to whom I spoke of it said that "In England they do not know how to advertise a book".⁶²⁵

Murray had already spent the considerable sum of £70 on advertising, far more than was usual for a book of travel. Clearly offended by Cesnola's suggestion, he jotted a comment below the letter: "Then the A.P. was an officious ass".

⁶²³ See, for example, NLS Ms 40126, Anne Isabella Noel Blunt to John Murray, November 19, 1880: "I enclose a list of a few people to whom I should like copies to be sent, and also the names of several reviewers who ought to have early copies".

⁶²⁴ NLS Ms 40205, Luigi Palma di Cesnola to John Murray, August 5, 1878.

⁶²⁵ NLS Ms 40205, Luigi Palma di Cesnola to John Murray, August 5, 1878.

In some cases, authors coordinated the publication of reviews themselves, often arranging for works to be critiqued by friends or acquaintances. Edward Whymper wrote to Henry Walter Bates at the Royal Geographical Society in 1891, asking for help obtaining suitably experienced critics for his *Travels amongst the Great Andes of the Equator* (1892): “Whether any laudatory notices will appear, I do not know. I want to get some critiques by men who know what they are talking about, and should very much appreciate remarks from your pen, if you could be induced to write any”.⁶²⁶ Such arrangements could create a surplus of reviews, however, as William Gill discovered when he personally arranged with an acquaintance to review his *River of Golden Sand* (1889) for the *Times*. The review was duly procured, but in the intervening period, an editor of the *Times* had made an independent arrangement for a different reviewer to evaluate Gill’s book. Gill wrote to the RGS with some consternation, asking whether the first review could be placed in a different, suitably distinguished paper.⁶²⁷

A notable exception to Murray’s lack of control over reviewers is his own *Quarterly Review*. The *Quarterly* often noticed Murray’s own publications in its articles, but the interactions between Murray, his monograph authors, and the sometimes-overlapping body of review authors are complex and not easily traced in Murray’s ledgers. Murray published the *Quarterly*, but he was not its editor, may not have always known the identity of its anonymous reviewers, and certainly did not have full control of its content.⁶²⁸ An examination of the presence or absence of

⁶²⁶ RGS Archive, CB7. Edward Whymper to Henry Walter Bates, September 10, 1891.

⁶²⁷ RGS Archive, CB6. William Gill to the Royal Geographical Society, February 12, 1889.

⁶²⁸ Paston (1932).

Quarterly reviews for each Murray travel publication is beyond the scope of this study, although it would certainly yield rich material for research into the history of nineteenth-century reviews, reviewers, and reception.

Authors also promoted the sale of their works through public appearances. A lecture by Edward Rae, illustrated with artefacts and photographs from his travels, was reported by a local paper. The language of the report was effectively a free advertisement for Rae's published narrative, giving the book's full title as well as a positive account of the interest of Rae's journey:

...To some of our readers, Mr. Rae will, no doubt, be known as the author of "The Land of the North Wind," an interesting work, published last year, giving an account of travels among the Laplanders and the Samoyedes, and it was upon some of the incidents of this journey to the land of the Samoyedes that Mr. Rae's paper was written and delivered. Mr. Rae prefaced his remarks upon "the least known people in the world" by recounting the necessary preparations and plans he made for embarkation and outward voyage... The lecture was illustrated with photographs... Mr. Rae donned the native attire, and articles of native manufacture and use were handed round for inspection.⁶²⁹

A few isolated instances where authors received extraordinary amounts of public attention demonstrate other techniques for publicising new books which might be more familiar to a modern reader. The ledger entry for Du Chaillu's *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, for example, details a cost of £5.16s.1d. for large, poster-style "shew boards" — in addition to the expense of £25.10s. for stuffing gorilla skins. These displays, both animal and textual, attracted additional

⁶²⁹ Royal Geographical Society Archive, CB6. Edward Rae. Review clipped from the *Chester Courant*, February 2, 1876.

attention to Du Chaillu's already sensational work. The ledger gives no specifics about the boards' size or textual content, but their inclusion in Murray's advertising strategy was a rare exception to the publisher's ordinarily conservative practices.

Ultimately, advertising represented a substantial cost to a new edition, which if miscalculated could turn a potentially profitable book into a loss. It was also the only continuing expense for an edition which had already been released for sale. This tenuous balance between public visibility and over-expenditure is particularly evident in cases where Murray's ledgers record additional investment in advertising well after the initial publication of a new work. For example, Otter's *Winters Abroad* (1882) earned author and publisher each about £15 profit within a few weeks of its publication. However, the £29 spent on advertising over the course of the following decade meant that Murray's final accounting for the book reflected a £17 loss.⁶³⁰

Many of Murray's books continued to sell in small numbers for years, or even decades, after their initial publication. However, the continuing cost of advertising could eat into the publisher's profits, and if misjudged, this expense could even turn an initial minor profit into a loss for Murray. For example, Edward Rae's *The Country of the Moors* sold more than two thirds of the copies printed within a year of publication in 1877. Released in late November, its publication was timed to coincide with the Christmas season and Murray's annual sale to the bookselling trade. Of the 1000 copies printed, 681 had left Murray's warehouses by the end of June. In addition to the 681 paid-for copies, the publisher sent 5 copies to Stationers' Hall, 12 to the author, and 44 to reviewers, all free of charge. The review copies were calculated to help the book's sales by increasing its visibility in

⁶³⁰ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 161.

periodicals and other publications. However, the loss of more than twenty pounds of potential profit (given an 8s. or 8s. 6d. sale price to the trade, not the 12s. advertised to the public) meant that each copy distributed to reviewers had to be carefully considered. Murray spent an initial £48.16s.3d. on advertising for this first release, though the publisher's ledger does not specify exactly what costs were included in this figure. When costs for printing, paper, illustrations, maps, editing, and binding, as well as advertising, were totalled, the costs of production were just under £243. *The Country of the Moors* was notionally a success for Murray: sales generated £264 5s. of income between its November release and Murray's half-yearly accounting at the end of the following June. This total was just enough to cover the costs of production and to give a small profit of £10.10s.6d. each to author and publisher.

What of the remaining 258 copies of Rae's narrative? Murray's ledger book does not record another account for the volume until 1889, when the publisher noted that an additional £43.19s.6d. had been spent on advertising. Whether this cost was distributed over a number of years is unclear, as Murray's daily accounts do not survive from this period. However, what this second accounting does show is that sales of a new book were dramatically less profitable once the initial publication season had passed. In the decade between June 1878 and March 1889, Murray managed to sell only 38 additional copies to the trade at the original price of 8s. 6d., while 151 copies were sold at just 1s. 6d. per copy. Murray eventually sent 40 copies to the author at a cost of just 1 shilling per copy, 5 copies were presented free of charge to other individuals, and 24 were remaindered for the cost of their materials (returning just £1.4s. to the publisher). In all, the final third of the copies of Rae's *The Country of the Moors* yielded Murray just £30.5s. in revenue. On average these

copies produced just a quarter of the income generated by copies sold in the book's first year of publication. Murray actually lost £13.14s.6d. on the book overall, since later sales did not completely offset the cost of advertising.⁶³¹

Rae's *The Country of the Moors* is typical of Murray's travel narratives in its pattern of sales: a strong initial offering in which many copies are purchased by the trade, at around two-thirds of the price advertised to the public, followed by a long tail of sales trickling in, often at drastically reduced prices, until the final few copies are passed to the author or remaindered for a fraction of their original price. This emphasis on strong initial sales may be one reason why Murray distributed so many review copies for free: early positive reviews could generate a high number of sales without the need to wait for word-of-mouth between readers who had purchased their own copies of a new book.

Publishing Abroad

Interest in books of travel was not limited to the British reading public. As the nineteenth century progressed, the increasing ease of global travel was reflected by the rapid spread of not only travellers, but also the books they published, across continents — with or without the consent of the publisher. In this market, Murray was faced with the challenge of protecting his copyright, while maximizing his own profits and maintaining his reputation as one of the most prominent British publishers in the genre of travel and exploration. Murray regularly made agreements with American, German, and French publishers to reprint and translate his publications. This internationalization of the market reflects not only international

⁶³¹ NLS Ms 42732 (g), p. 267.

interest in travel and exploration, but the global reach of antiquarian and naturalist circles of scholars and travellers in which many of Murray's authors took part. Notably, however, there is little evidence that Murray pursued publication beyond Europe and the Americas, and he rarely made arrangements for translations in languages other than French or German.

Murray published only about a dozen travel works translated into English between 1860 and 1892, but he arranged for more than three times that number of his own publications to be sold abroad. This mismatch is initially puzzling, since the adventures of foreign travellers might be presumed to be just as interesting to English audiences as those of English travellers to Europeans and Americans. Given the legal, technical, and economic challenges of publishing internationally, however, it is evident that while Murray found it relatively straightforward, and financially beneficial, to arrange for other publishers to bring out his own works abroad, it was rarely worthwhile for the publisher to produce foreign works for the benefit of the British reading public.

One critical aspect of arranging for translation or foreign publication was to secure a work's copyright. Copyright law in the nineteenth century is best known for vociferous and continual disputes between authors, publishers, members of the book trade about the nature of the law and the issues of unauthorised editions.⁶³² Legislation and court challenges, both in Britain and America, meant that the requirements for establishing copyright varied during the later nineteenth century;

⁶³² S.J. Liebowitz, "Paradise Lost? The Payment of British Authors in 19th Century America's Copyright Wilderness", *Journal of Law and Economics* (2017 forthcoming); A. Rukavina, *The Development of the International Book Trade, 1870–1895: Tangled Networks* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

authors were variously protected or made vulnerable by the location of their books' manufacture, the timing of publication across several countries, and by the writer's own geographical location at the time of publication.⁶³³

Although numerous international agreements were proposed and Britain had a robust system of internal copyright, most of Murray's nineteenth-century travel publications were vulnerable to unauthorised reprinting abroad.⁶³⁴ In Europe, a gentleman's agreement for non-competition between publishers in the same country was generally sufficient to prevent competition for books at the upper end of the market. In America, the copyright law protected only American citizens through most of the century, and a practice discouraging internal competition known as "courtesy of trade" had little effect on the profits of the original author and publisher. Only at the end of 1887, when the Bern Agreement was brought into effect between Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and several other European nations, were authors' rights entirely protected across international borders. The United States was even slower to adopt protections for authors and did not recognize any foreign copyrights until 1891.⁶³⁵

Despite the substantial complications of copyright law for bringing out new books in England and abroad, the subject is rarely discussed in Murray's correspondence with his travel authors. This lack of attention to copyright is in

⁶³³ See an excellent discussion of the technical and legal history at C. Seville, *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law: Books, Buccaneers and the Black Flag in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁶³⁴ Seville (2006).

⁶³⁵ Seville (2006). Some British authors circumvented the lack of official protection by bringing out works simultaneously in America and organizing an American citizen to write a short preface to their works; this contribution ensured that the book could be registered under American copyright.

marked contrast to the general publishing climate of the time. Charles Dickens was an outspoken critic of unauthorised reprinting in America, where the market was flooded with cheap copies of his books almost as soon as they were published in England, and Murray's own profits had been hurt by unauthorised American editions of Sir Walter Scott earlier in the 19th century.⁶³⁶ T.E. Scrutton's *The Laws of Copyright*, which Murray published in 1883, reflected the publisher's approach to the subject: "the interest of authors is to obtain as large a return for their work as possible, both in reputation and in money... The interest of publishers is to obtain as much security as possible for the capital they invest in supplying the public demand for literary productions".⁶³⁷

Technological Limitations and Logistics

A critical factor which distinguished Murray's travel books from typical nineteenth-century literary publications was the technology required to produce their copious illustrations. As discussed in Chapter 5, steam-powered presses, machine-made paper (with a substantial wood-pulp content helping to reduce its cost), and cloth-covered case bindings were all standard by the second half of the century.⁶³⁸ Typesetting, though still done by hand until the last decade of the nineteenth century, was still relatively expensive, often two to three times the cost of paper.⁶³⁹ These costs were unavoidable: all books had to be typeset initially, even if later editions were printed

⁶³⁶ Seville (2006), p. 66.

⁶³⁷ Qtd Seville (2006), p. 20.

⁶³⁸ Gaskell (1972).

⁶³⁹ These figures are supported by the Murray ledgers, although the high cost of typesetting and make-ready is at odds with the trends in American publishing at the time. Personal communication, Dr Michael Winship, University of Texas at Austin.

from stereotype plates. But one expense which could vary substantially was that of a new book's illustrations.

Of the more than 138 books of travel Murray published between 1860 and 1892, more than 80% were illustrated, with an average of more than 15 illustrations per book. [See Figure 6.4] These illustrations were one of the largest variable costs in bringing out a new book. The fifty pounds or so which was required for a modestly illustrated book could easily double, or more, if an author insisted on many illustrations. Unlike other aspects of the publishing process, the production of illustrations continued to be a labour-intensive, manual process until the last decade of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴⁰

Given these technological limitations, foreign publishers were faced with a major issue in bringing out a British book of travels. They could obtain access to the text of one of Murray's books without paying royalties to author or publisher. To be able to reprint the book, however, the illustrations would need to be entirely re-engraved, the cost of which could quickly become prohibitive. Maps or colour plates added further to the expense; John MacGregor leveraged this difficulty in arguing for the inclusion of coloured wood engravings in his *Rob Roy on the Jordan* (1869), reminding Murray that "my former books are known [in America] and though they were mercilessly copied (and all the woodcuts) yet the coloured plates cannot be so easily filched".⁶⁴¹ Given other fixed costs of typesetting, paper, printing, and binding, it might have been no less expensive for a foreign publisher to produce an unauthorised edition than it had been for Murray to produce the original edition. This

⁶⁴⁰ Gaskell (1972), p. 268.

⁶⁴¹ NLS MS 40742, John MacGregor to John Murray, December 29, 1869.

was particularly true because Murray almost exclusively operated on a policy of profit-sharing rather than copyright purchase, so there was no up-front payment to an author during the publication process.

Foreign publishers could choose to reduce the number of illustrations in an unauthorised reprint or translation, or leave them out entirely. While this strategy would reduce the cost of production, it would also reduce the appeal of the resulting book. If a foreign publisher agreed to collaborate with Murray, however, he could obtain electrotype copies of illustrations which could be passed directly to the printer. Without the need to re-engrave the illustrations, the foreign publisher could save dozens or even hundreds of pounds. If an American, European, or any other publisher wanted to bring out an edition of one of Murray's books of travel, then, it was financially often in their best interest to negotiate an agreement with Murray — regardless of whether a work was protected by copyright law — rather than try to produce an unauthorised edition independently.

The logistical issues of organising the publication of one of Murray's books abroad — out of English and into a foreign language, or in English for the American market — were dependent on whether Murray received a publisher's request before or after the work was first issued in the England. Occasionally, a new book of travels was so highly anticipated that word spread through the academic and publishing communities well in advance of its publication. This was the case for many books by Murray's most well-known authors of the period, including Livingstone, Du Chaillu, and Schliemann. For these works, a foreign publisher might contact Murray before the book's official release, requesting the right of simultaneous publication. If the two publishers could agree upon terms, Murray would arrange for an advance copy

to be shipped to the publisher, along with electrotpe copies, or clichés as Murray called them, of the illustrations.⁶⁴²

Murray regularly used stereotyping to preserve the typeset text of his books in readiness for future reprinting. The process used a substrate, often a sort of papier-mâché, to take a reverse image of standing type. The mould, called a flong, could then be used to make a solid metal cast of the type. These casts used less metal than hand-set type and allowed the printer to immediately reuse the type in other projects. For illustrations with fine detail, the more sensitive electrotpe process was used. An electric current was used to deposit a fine layer of copper on top of a finished wood engraving. The resulting cast could be affixed to a type-high block and was virtually indistinguishable, and much more durable, than the original.⁶⁴³

In order to protect the publishers in both countries, Murray needed to arrange for stereotypes of the sheets and illustrations to arrive in a timely manner, but not too far ahead of his own publication date. Copies printed by a foreign publisher in advance of the English edition might be smuggled back to Britain, damaging the domestic market, or else early reviews might satisfy readers' curiosity and dampen sales. John Murray III wrote with concern to his son about the American edition of *Mycenae* (1878): "I cannot allow Scribner to have a review of Schliemann until within a fortnight of its publication here — it is essential to the success of the book that we do not dissipate abroad its contents and all my arrangements and

⁶⁴² Murray's term probably refers to the earlier process of clichage, in which a woodblock was impressed into near-molten metal in order to make a duplicate copy. This delicate process was abandoned in favour of electrotyping when the process became widely available in the 1840s. See De Freitas (1986), p. xxvi.

⁶⁴³ Gaskell (1972), p. 206.

Schliemann's also have been made to secure this".⁶⁴⁴ Too early an English publication could also harm sales abroad; Murray wrote to Cesnola with concern about *Cyprus*:

I was also pledged to your Publishers in America, not to publish until their Edition was, if not ready, at least far advanced. Suppose I had published here in the middle of Sept: the English book would have reached New York by the 12th and you might have had a rival Edition, if not, large extracts would have been made in American papers, without your knowledge or leave.⁶⁴⁵

Murray made similar arrangements for the publication of Samuel G.W. Benjamin's *Persia and the Persians*. He purchased 780 copies, already printed, from the American publisher Ticknor and Fields, for publication in 1887. Ticknor took care to send six advance copies in October of 1886 so that Murray could register the copyright and prevent other British publishers from producing an unauthorised reprint of the work. This purchase of sheets was unusual, and Murray's correspondence gives no indication of why Benjamin's work was particularly attractive to the publisher. Despite Ticknor's claim that "the book ought to have a large sale in England" the copies failed to sell well, and Murray sustained a loss of about £45 on the venture.⁶⁴⁶

Another advantage of publishing simultaneously in several countries was that Murray could arrange to share the costs of publication with another business. This practice was particularly helpful in the case of high-priced, heavily illustrated books like Cesnola's, which required well over £1400 of capital outlay before Murray

⁶⁴⁴ NLS Ms 43060, John Murray III to John Murray IV, August 14, 1876.

⁶⁴⁵ NLS Ms 41914, p. 301. John Murray to Luigi Palma di Cesnola, November 21, 1877.

⁶⁴⁶ NLS Ms 41195, Ticknor & Co. Publishers to John Murray, October 8, 1886.

could make any profit on the work. Murray's ledger records that the publisher charged £562.2s.6d. to Harper and Brothers for half the cost of composition, illustration, and a set of electrotypes to print, as well as a further £200 to the Leipzig publisher Costenoble, thereby substantially reducing Murray's own risk on the venture.⁶⁴⁷ Such a coordinated process of typesetting, as well as illustration, was inefficient for less expensively produced books since a complete set of plates could cost more than £50 to produce.⁶⁴⁸

If a foreign publisher requested the rights to translation after a book had been published in Britain, the process was much more straightforward. Murray simply charged a flat fee for rights and the cost of producing and shipping electrotypes of illustrations, as well as stereotypes of the text if the edition was to be in English. This was only possible, of course, if stereotype plates had been produced before the book's type was distributed. Murray charged as little as £25 in some cases, but up to £250 or more for books by better-known authors, or titles which had been more expensive to produce. Even this small fee could prove a problem, though, when Murray was approached not by a publisher but by a translator.

Translating Travels

A critical step in bringing out one of Murray's books in Europe was arranging the translation. When Murray arranged directly with a foreign publisher, as he did in the case of Cesnola, that publisher would appoint a suitable translator. Frequently, though, Murray was contacted by translators acting independently of a publisher —

⁶⁴⁷ Ms 42732(g), p. 387

⁶⁴⁸ See NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 311. The plates for Lumholtz's *Among Cannibals* (1889) cost £55.8s.4d.

hoping to gain permission to translate, but without any guarantee that their efforts would lead to a printed volume.

In these cases, Murray was concerned to maintain the respectability of his books by ensuring the translator had appropriate experience, but also eager to accept payment he would receive from the sale of the rights. In a genre where most of Murray's travel books earned the publisher less than £100 profit, fees from the sale of foreign rights could make a significant contribution to the publisher's profits. In 1889, Murray received a letter from a German author asking for permission to translate Lady Hariot Dufferin's *Our Viceregal Life in India*. Von Ropynski suggested an agreement which would give him exclusive rights to translate the book into German in exchange for a 25% share in any profits. Murray refused the offer, insisting that the right to translation must be purchased outright, and suggesting that the translator should attempt to make arrangements with a German publisher before embarking on the work.⁶⁴⁹ A second letter from von Ropynski reiterated the translator's request for a profit-sharing arrangement as he could not afford Murray's offered fee of £25, but prompted a second firm refusal from Murray: "We are acting on Lady D's behalf. If the book is likely to succeed you should have no difficulty in finding a well-known publ. to take it up and pay the very moderate sum asked".⁶⁵⁰ While more challenging for the translator to arrange, this flat fee produced guaranteed income for Murray; in the publisher's experience, there was no guarantee a new book of travel would make the £100 profit needed to produce that same twenty-five pounds.

⁶⁴⁹ NLS Ms 40108, E. von Ropynski to John Murray, December 29, 1889.

⁶⁵⁰ NLS Ms 40108, E. von Ropynski to John Murray, January 11, 1890.

What of books where Murray was the foreign publisher: translations into English of works first published in other countries? Given his experience with translations out of English, Murray was reluctant to publish translations into English because of the uncertainty of two key variables: literary quality and assurance of profit. Translated narratives, even if well-written in the original language, could read as stilted or awkward in English. Furthermore, translators' fees represented a significant investment for Murray beyond the ordinary costs which would be incurred in bringing out a book of travels. With an uncertain market for travel books and profit margins which were more often in the tens than the hundreds of pounds, Murray was reluctant to make this type of investment. As with his English books of travel, Murray declined many more offered translations than he accepted for publication.⁶⁵¹

In addition to the topical interest of a new work, the literary quality of a translated narrative was a critical element — and an additional risk — for a publisher bringing out a foreign work. Murray could not always avoid being caught off-guard by the work of a poor translator. In 1870, Murray arranged with the Comte de Beauvoir to bring out two volumes of his travels round the world.⁶⁵² These were of particular interest as the Comte was only 22 at the time of his journey, and was in the company of a French prince. Beauvoir contacted Murray having already organised a translator and gained consent from his French publisher for the publication. The process should have gone smoothly, but after receiving the first set of translated sheets, Beauvoir wrote to Murray with some dismay:

⁶⁵¹ For a discussion of translations published by Murray in the early nineteenth century, see Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015), p. 139.

⁶⁵² L.d. Beauvoir, *Voyage Round the World* (London: John Murray, 1870).

Mr Stevenson est d'avis, comme vous, que la traduction Adolphus est mauvaise, et qu'il ne à aucun prix compromettre notre succès. Reste à trouver un nouveau traducteur... [Mr Stevenson believes, like you, that Adolphus' translation is terrible, and that on no account should jeopardize our success. It remains to find a new translator...] ⁶⁵³

The letter continues:

Je ne puis assez vous dire, cher monsieur, combien je serais désolé de voir s'évanouir notre beau rêve de traduction, qui, avec vous est assuré du succès. [I cannot tell you enough, dear sir, how sorry I would be to see our beautiful dream of translation slip away, which, [if brought out] with you, is assured of success.] ⁶⁵⁴

Murray was placed in a difficult position: he had committed to publish the book, but upon seeing the translation could no longer support the undertaking. After further correspondence between Beauvoir and Murray, Joseph Adolphus was paid £16.16s. for his work on the abandoned translation. Murray's ledger further records that a Miss Stevenson was paid £68.5s. for a new translation of Beauvoir's narrative. Murray, then, was twice out of pocket — and both translators, unlike Beauvoir, had to be paid before the book's profits became available. Despite these setbacks, the English edition was eventually profitable, earning author and publisher each just under £100. ⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵³ Ms 40074, Ludovic de Beauvoir to John Murray, April 12, 1870.

⁶⁵⁴ Ms 40074, Ludovic de Beauvoir to John Murray, April 12, 1870. Translations prepared with assistance from Tess Goodman.

⁶⁵⁵ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 142.

Reprinting and Revised Editions

After most copies of a work's first printing had sold, Murray was faced with the decision as to whether to reprint. The answer was, generally, no. Reprinting was only advisable if Murray anticipated that there was sufficient demand to profit from another printing, or, occasionally, if current events brought renewed interest to a work which had been out of print for several years or decades. Unless stereotype plates had been made or the type had been left standing, the expense of resetting and reprinting often outweighed the potential for additional profit. Tranching down editions in size and price could appeal to new groups of readers, but the practice was only cost-effective for a handful of Murray's most popular titles.⁶⁵⁶ Only 28 of the 138 narratives of travel Murray published between 1860 and 1892 were reprinted or went into second editions by the end of that period. The line between a reprint and an entirely new edition was often indistinct in an era when stereotyping had become commonplace. Murray's ledgers and correspondence generally refer to additional copies printed as a "new edition" only when the format, length, or content has undergone significant revision. Ordering printers and binder to produce a few hundred or thousand duplicate copies of an existing work, even if the type needed to be reset, is usually recorded in the ledgers simply as "copies printed".

Murray adopted an unusual approach to publication expenses for the few works which he anticipated would go on to be reprinted. Murray generally estimated the publication costs and prices of his publications to allow for several hundred pounds' profit if all copies sold. A higher-profile publication, however, could invest

⁶⁵⁶ See St Clair (2012), p. 6–7.

more into initial expenses such as illustration, and expect to recoup those costs from the sale of copies printed, months later, from the original plates. This was the tactic which Murray employed when publishing MacGregor's *Rob Roy on the Jordan* (1867). Murray's initial estimate allowed for just £75 profit, split between author and publisher, based on 2500 copies printed.⁶⁵⁷ The first edition included 67 illustrations, including four coloured plates, but sold at just twelve shillings. Because MacGregor was uninterested in personal profit, selling the first edition at a modest price and hoping to just break even was a safe strategy for Murray. If demand was high, second and further printings could be produced inexpensively, since the major expense of engraving the woodcut illustrations did not need to be repeated.⁶⁵⁸

In fact, Murray had to wait a far shorter time than he had anticipated for a substantial profit. The book was wildly popular. MacGregor wrote to Murray: "I think it was right to rely on a second edition of the book for larger profit though more delayed".⁶⁵⁹ Sales of the second and third printings, each a thousand copies, as well as a second edition of fifteen hundred copies, earned author and publisher each more than £386 by Murray's end-of-year accounting in December of 1869, though the book had been sold only since the second week of November.⁶⁶⁰ Murray reduced the production cost of later editions by reducing the physical size of the book. The first edition had been printed on large crown paper, with generous margins, but beginning with the fourth edition in 1874, Murray's ledger records the purchase of ordinary crown sheets. These smaller sheets cost just two-thirds the price, and by

⁶⁵⁷ NLS Ms 42722, p. 41.

⁶⁵⁸ NLS Ms 40742, John MacGregor to John Murray, November 6 and November 15, 1869.

⁶⁵⁹ NLS Ms 40742, John MacGregor to John Murray, November 22, 1869.

⁶⁶⁰ NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 17.

increasing the number of lines of type to a standard page from 34 to 36, the book was reduced in size by nearly fifty pages without any abridgement of content. Murray was correspondingly able to reduce the sale price to 7s. 6d., making the book potentially attractive to a new group of buyers. In total, Murray sold more than 11,000 copies of MacGregor's narrative before the end of the century. The publisher's initial investment in an unusually well-illustrated, but relatively inexpensive book was ultimately repaid by profits of more than £600.⁶⁶¹

Henry Walter Bates' *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* was a notable exception to the rule that books sold best within a few months of their publication. In total, Murray printed 8,750 copies of the work between 1863 and 1892, in three distinct formats. The initial 1,250 copies of the two-volume narrative sold within a year, and a further printing of 1,500 copies sold well enough that by 1874, Murray was willing to issue a one-volume abridged edition selling for 7s. 6d. Murray sold 4,250 copies of that cheaper edition in four separate printings, the last of which was called for in 1891. As a result, Bates and Murray continued to make minor profits from the book's sale for three decades. Notably, between 1873 and 1891, Bates earned more than £250 profit from the work, a substantial fraction of the total.⁶⁶²

Bates had been paid £250 outright as an advance of sales, and this was eventually followed by a total of about £400 in additional profits. Murray had accepted a one-third share in profits in order to secure Bates' volume for his house, meaning that the publisher's total profit was substantially less than Bates'. The

⁶⁶¹ NLS Ms Ms 42731(f), p. 17; Ms 42732(g), p. 400; Ms 42733(h), p. 153, 337.

⁶⁶² NLS Ms 42731(f), p. 135, 226; Ms 42732(g), p. 347; Ms 42733(h), p. 150, 341.

example of Bates' *Amazons* demonstrates that Murray could profit from a long tail of sales from an exceptionally popular book.

On Bates' death in 1892, Murray published a new, larger edition, a medium octavo selling for 18 shillings, more than twice the cost of the 7s. 6d. cheap edition which was in print at the time. Accompanied by a 74-page memoir of Bates written by Edward Clodd, it also had the benefit of a new map, a portrait of the author, and an attractive coloured illustration not present in the cheap addition.⁶⁶³ Murray's decision to bring out the memorial edition suggests that it was intended to appeal to readers interested more in the narrative's historical significance, and Bates' prominence in the geographical community, than its technical content. At the time of publication, Murray's ledgers record 485 copies of the cheaper 7s. 6d. edition on hand, only 212 of which sold in the following year. The new edition sold more than two-thirds of the 1000 copies printed in its first six months of publication, but the costs of paying Clodd's fee of £21, as well as a few pounds each to W. Griggs for a coloured plate, Walker for a new map and a portrait of Bates, and for a new block for the binding, meant that the book only just broke even in its first few months of publication. Ultimately, Murray earned less than £25 profit on the edition.

Murray usually produced a cheap edition only when the market for full-price edition was saturated and copies were unlikely to sell well. Occasionally, global events meant that public interest was drawn to a region in which one of Murray's authors had travelled. This was the case for Frank Linsly James' *The Wild Tribes of the Soudan* (1883). After a substantial profit of nearly £150 each to author and

⁶⁶³ E.S.P. Haynes and J.F.M. Clark, "Clodd, Edward (1840–1930)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

publisher on the first printing, Murray was eager to capitalise on the relevance of James' narrative to the political situation in the Soudan by bringing out a new edition.⁶⁶⁴ Between March 1884 and January 1885, British troops in Khartoum were besieged by Mahdist rebels. A relief force was being organised at the time Murray proposed a new edition to James, but it arrived too late to save General Gordon and his troops. That fiasco was ultimately recounted in Alexander MacDonald's *Too Late for Gordon and Khartoum*, which Murray did not publish until 1887. While the siege was still in progress, however, James' *Wild Tribes* was a readily available and exceptionally recent source of information on the Soudan. James' preface confirms the tailoring of the second edition to suit interest in Gordon's expedition: "I have curtailed some of the purely shooting incidents, and have added an account of... a country which is particularly interesting at the present time, when the thoughts of so many are turned to the expedition now taking place in that region".⁶⁶⁵ Murray also considered re-titling the book to improve its marketability. An acquaintance of James' suggested "The Dongola Route to Khartoum", highlighting the relevance of James' travels to General Gordon's predicament.⁶⁶⁶ James worried that the suggestion was uninteresting, however, and the original title was kept. Murray did adjust the subtitle, however, to emphasise the location of James' journey over the promise of "travel and sport" in the first edition.

⁶⁶⁴ F.L. James, *The Wild Tribes of the Soudan: An Account of Travel and Sport, Chiefly in the Basé Country. Being Personal Experiences and Adventures During Three Winters Spent in the Soudan* (London: John Murray, 1883). NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 220.

⁶⁶⁵ F.L. James, *The Wild Tribes of the Soudan: An Account of Personal Experiences and Adventures During Three Winters Spent in That Country Chiefly among the Basé Tribe* (London: John Murray, 1884).

⁶⁶⁶ NLS Ms 40606, Frank L. James to John Murray, October 3, 1884.

To make a dramatic reduction in price possible, the book needed to be physically transformed. The first edition of James' *Soudan* was a medium octavo, one of the larger formats Murray regularly used, and had 46 illustrations, including several etchings, as well as three maps. With generous margins and well-spaced lines it sold for a relatively expensive 20 shillings. The second edition of 1,000 copies, which sold for about a third of the price, included just 21 of the illustrations and only one map. It also reduced the physical size of the page for medium to crown octavo, and condensed the typesetting to occupy a higher fraction of the available space.⁶⁶⁷

The transition from medium to crown octavo affected James' illustrations as well as his text. Blocks which were originally designed as full-page plates needed to be cut down in order to fit the smaller page size of the new edition. In some cases, figures are simply framed more tightly in the second edition and the edges of background scenery are removed. In a more dramatic example, an engraving of vultures scavenging a carcass is transformed from a full-page plate to a vignette printed in line with the text.⁶⁶⁸ [Figure 7.4] By reducing the size and number of illustrations in this manner, Murray was able to save on the cost of printing the illustrations separately while still retaining the visual novelty of James' narrative. The brass block used to impress the cover illustration and title also had to be reconfigured at a cost of about five pounds, since the original block's text and illustration had extended to the edges of the covers. Murray did still save on cost of the binding: rather than gilt lettering for the title and foliage on the front board, two tints of ink were used to produce the cover image.⁶⁶⁹ The effect of the image without

⁶⁶⁷ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 220.

⁶⁶⁸ James (1883), p. 221; James (1884), p. 192.

⁶⁶⁹ NLS Ms 42733(h), p. 220.

the contrast of the gold leaf, however, is unimpressive, even visually confusing where the grasses overlap the figure's leg. [Figure 7.5]

Murray brought out the second edition of James' *Wild Tribes* as part of his series of "Popular Travels". The series was a way for the publisher to unify and advertise the trashed-down works which might otherwise be easily forgotten some years after their initial publication. For example, an single advertisement leaf bound into the back of Hubner's *Through the British Empire* (1886), a two-volume narrative which sold for 24s. and never reached a second edition with Murray, offers "Mr. Murray's Series of Popular Travels and Adventures, Consisting of Established Works, well printed, on good paper. Each complete in One Volume, post 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.". [Figure 7.6]⁶⁷⁰ The advertisement goes on to list each work, often citing the number of maps and illustrations. What Murray optimistically described as "established" works were often decades old. Hubner's narrative was published in 1886, but nearly half the titles listed were more than 25 years past their first printing. Seven shillings and sixpence was by no means cheap for a book in Victorian Britain, though, and with this type of reprint Murray was still catering to a relatively small market. The availability of older titles through circulating libraries, as well as the ease of stereotyping, meant that Murray rarely printed these "popular" editions in runs of more than 2,000 copies.

⁶⁷⁰ J.A. Hubner, *Through the British Empire* (London: John Murray, 1886). See NLS copy at K.155.e.



Figure 7.4a
Full-page plate of vultures scavenging a carcass. F.L. James, *Wild Tribes of the Soudan* (1883), facing p. 221.

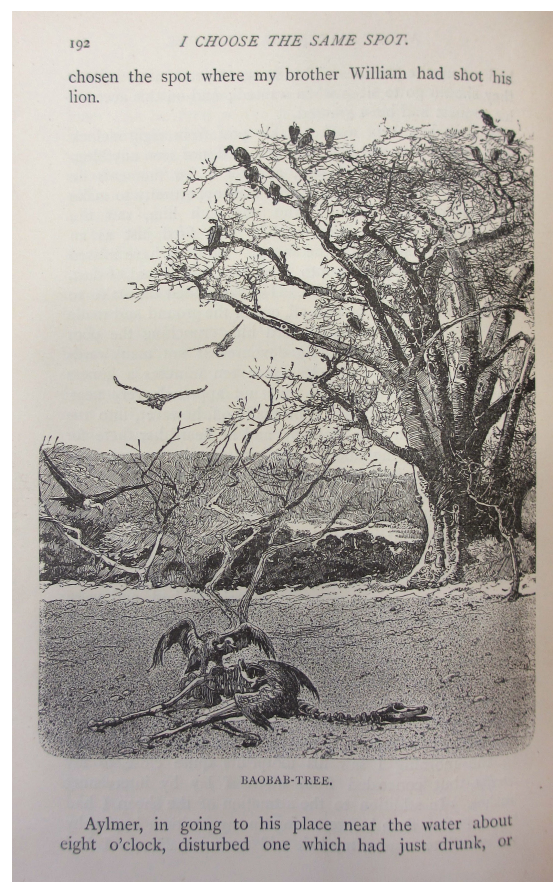


Figure 7.4b
The same block, cut down, in the second edition of F.L. James' *Wild Tribes of the Soudan* (1884), p. 192.



Figure 7.5

Covers for the 1883 and 1884 editions of F.L. James' *Wild Tribes of the Soudan*.

MR. MURRAY'S
 SERIES OF POPULAR TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES,
Consisting of Established Works, well printed, on good paper,
 Each complete in One Volume, post 8vo. price 7s. 6d.

- LORD DUFFERIN'S LETTERS from HIGH LATITUDES :
 AN ACCOUNT of a YACHT VOYAGE to ICELAND, JAN MAYEN, and SPITZ-
 BERGEN. With 24 Illustrations.
- CAPT. GILL'S 'THE RIVER of GOLDEN SAND.' A
 NARRATIVE of a JOURNEY through CHINA to BURMAH. With Memoir
 by Col. YULE, C.B. With Portrait, Map, and Illustrations.
- MR. F. L. JAMES' 'THE WILD TRIBES of the SOUDAN.'
Cheaper Edition. With a PREFATORY CHAPTER on KHARTOUM and the
 SOUDAN by Sir SAMUEL BAKER. With Map and 20 Illustrations.
- SIR HENRY LAYARD'S NINEVEH and its REMAINS.
 Map and 112 Illustrations.
- SIR HENRY LAYARD'S NINEVEH and BABYLON. Map
 and 150 Illustrations.
- SIR LEOPOLD MCCLINTOCK'S VOYAGE of the 'FOX'
 in the ARCTIC SEAS in SEARCH of FRANKLIN and his COM-
 PANIONS. Maps and 30 Illustrations.
- SIR FRANCIS HEAD'S BUBBLES from the BRUNNEN
 of NASSAU. With 13 Illustrations.
- HON. ROBERT CURZON'S VISITS to the MONASTERIES
 of the LEVANT. With 18 Illustrations.
- DR. LIVINGSTONE'S TRAVELS and ADVENTURES in
 AFRICA, 1840-54. Map and 32 Illustrations.
- DR. LIVINGSTONE'S 'ZAMBESI and its TRIBUTARIES,'
 1858-64. Map and 34 Illustrations.
- DR. PORTER'S FIVE YEARS in DAMASCUS, with TRAVELS
 in PALMYRA, LEBANON, and the GIANT CITIES of BASHAN and THE
 HAURAN. With 18 Illustrations.
- MR. JOHN MCGREGOR'S 'ROB ROY' on the JORDAN,
 NILE, RED SEA, GENNESARETH. 8 Maps and 70 Illustrations.
- MR. MANSFIELD PARKYNS' LIFE in ABYSSINIA.
 Maps and 30 Illustrations.
- MR. H. W. BATES' NATURALIST on the RIVER
 AMAZON. With 22 Illustrations.
- CAPT. MUSTERS' 'AT HOME with the PATAGONIANS';
 from the STRAITS of MAGELLAN to the RIO NEGRO. Map and 10 Illustrations.
- MISS BIRD'S SIX MONTHS AMONG the PALM GROVES,
 CORAL REEFS, and VOLCANOES of the SANDWICH ISLANDS.
 With 12 Illustrations.
- MISS BIRD'S LIFE in the ROCKY MOUNTAINS. With
 8 Illustrations.
- MISS BIRD'S UNBEATEN TRACKS in JAPAN; including
 Visits to Yezo and the Shrines of Nikko and Ise. Map and Illustrations.

Figure 7.6

"Mr. Murray's Series of Popular Travels and Adventures". Advertising leaf bound into J.A. Hubner, *Through the British Empire* (London: John Murray, 1886). See NLS copy at K.155.e.

Conclusions

Murray stimulated sales of his books by advertising both new and old titles in printed supplements and by encouraging periodicals to review new publications. He worked to open markets for his books abroad, coordinating with European and American publishers to maximise sales and profits and balancing the desire for wide distribution with the need to protect domestic sales of his own editions. When sales were good, Murray brought out further printings and new editions, often reducing the price of established works to cater to new audiences, and reshaping the physical volumes, as well as their texts, in order to make those reductions possible.

The first edition of one of Murray's travel narratives, even if it sold well and quickly, would reach only a few thousand readers (although public exposure could be increased by the inclusion of a title in a circulating library's stock). It was the success of advertising and publicity which ensured that further editions, translations, and sales abroad would earn substantial profits for author and publisher, and deliver the book's content to a wider group of readers. Who those readers were, however, is unclear. The Archive's correspondence files document authors who speculate about readers, report the reaction of family and friends, and ask Murray to send clippings of reviews and notices of their books. Yet fuller records of who bought those books, and why, and how they responded to them, is beyond the scope of its business records.

That Murray sold copies of his works, however, did not necessarily mean that they were read. The distinction between sales to the trade and sales to the public, as well as the uncertainty of circulation for copies purchased by libraries, makes it difficult to quantify the number of readers who encountered Murray's publications. It

is certain, though, that many more readers would have encountered Murray's authors in the reviews, newspaper articles, other literary excerpts, and even public lectures which were produced as a result of these new books of travel, than would have read or had access to the original publications. Murray's later nineteenth-century narratives of travel were one of many ways geographical authors communicated their discoveries and their experiences with a reading public.

Chapter 8

Conclusions: Publishing Travels, 1860–1892

Murray cautioned Henry Villiers Stuart, an amateur Egyptologist on the eve of publishing his first book of travels: “...every publication of this kind is a Lottery and that spite [*sic*] of my best exertions it may result in loss rather than in pecuniary advantage”.⁶⁷¹ The idea of a “lottery” was a platitude upon which the publisher frequently relied in explaining the business of books to prospective authors. As this thesis has demonstrated, however, Murray’s approach to publishing was anything but random. The process of bringing books of travel into print was a well-codified cycle which the Murrays had established over four generations of family business. Some factors in a book’s success — reviews, public taste, competing authors, and current events — were admittedly beyond Murray’s control, but the publisher’s “best exertions” shaped the text, paratext, illustration, and distribution of books in ways which many authors did not anticipate.⁶⁷²

Murray managed a network of readers, editors, printers, illustrators, binders, and booksellers to shape authors’ manuscripts into printed books. This thesis has used book historical notions of the production and circulation of texts, as well as existing research into the technologies and cultures of nineteenth-century publishing, to investigate the historical geographies of bringing books of travel into print. It has argued that in considering narratives of travel, geographers must account not only for the epistemological and editorial consequences of publication, but also for the ways

⁶⁷¹ NLS Ms 41915, John Murray to Henry Villiers Stuart, April 15, 1879. p. 34.

⁶⁷² See a letter employing similar language: NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to John MacGregor, May 21, 1869. p. 30.

in which the economic and technological limitations of the publishing industry shaped authors' accounts of their journeys. Furthermore, it has demonstrated the value of a longitudinal survey to situate exceptional authors and their publications in the context of the unexceptional.

Book history is concerned with the relationships of actors and elements in the production, circulation, and reception of material texts. This thesis has examined Murray's later nineteenth-century books of travel at the intersection of book history and historical geography. It has traced the process of publication through a series of stages which reflect the production of a new narrative: accepting or rejecting submitted manuscripts, editing the text, selecting and shaping the paratexts, producing illustrations and maps, and advertising and selling the finished books. Scholars have proposed theoretical models which concentrate on different elements of the cycles of creation and use, but the discipline of book history has recognised from its beginnings that the process of production and circulation is iterative rather than strictly linear. Accordingly, the stages of production I have identified were not always carried out in the order in which I address them, nor were they always completed. Some authors made plans — not always realistic — for illustrations before they had finished their manuscripts, while others attempted to continue editing their narratives even as final proofs arrived from the printers.⁶⁷³ After publication, many of Murray's books were re-edited, re-translated, sold to other publishers in sheets and bound in entirely different styles, or remaindered and sold at a fraction of their original price. And not all copies of a book might be sold at all. If the publisher

⁶⁷³ See, for example, NLS Ms 40205 for a letter of Luigi Palma di Cesnola to John Murray, November 6, 1877, in which Cesnola apologises for corrections in proof costing Murray at least £100.

could hope for no further profit, remaining copies were pulped for the value of their fibre.⁶⁷⁴ Murray negotiated the complex cycle of publication from manuscript to printed book, then, but his concerns were economic and technological as well as textual.

Prestige and Public Taste

By the later nineteenth century, the practice of writing was so ingrained into the cultural notion of travel that Driver (2013) has suggested: “indeed, a journey of exploration only really counted as such when it was described by a narrative”.⁶⁷⁵ Murray’s later nineteenth-century travel narratives encompass journeys on six continents and modes of transport from ship and foot to camel and canoe. His authors ranged from an upper-class ornithologist to an astronomer’s wife, missionaries and career diplomats to a member of a royal shooting safari.⁶⁷⁶ Yet the terms which Murray offered to authors — profit-sharing arrangements where compensation, if any, was not paid until several months after a book’s publication — meant that Murray’s travellers did not expect to earn a living, or even part of one, from their writing. If not for financial gain, then, these authors wrote to share their experience of travel with a wider audience, promote their political or social views, and for the validation of seeing their work in print.

In selecting books for publication, Murray made decisions about the legitimacy and quality of individual submissions but also served as an arbiter of

⁶⁷⁴ See, for example, NLS Ms 42732(g), p. 409: In November 1881, 450 copies of Young’s *Nyassa* (1877) were “wasted” for an income of just £1.13s.6d.

⁶⁷⁵ Driver (2013), p. 166.

⁶⁷⁶ Respectively Henry Seebohm, Isobel Gill, Henry Ellis, Henry Brougham Loch, and John Jarvis Bisset, among others.

public taste. Murray was a commercial publisher, and decisions to accept and reject manuscripts were based more heavily upon questions of novelty and potential marketability than they were in patrolling the disciplinary boundaries of geography as it was practiced in nineteenth-century Britain. Murray's definition of novelty was fluid, but archival correspondence often references the location of an author's travels, his or her mode of transport, particular social position, or specialist knowledge. The author's destination was a critical factor in establishing novelty in a manuscript, but by no means a guarantee of it.

Murray relied upon a network of readers to evaluate both the substantive content and the narrative quality of submissions. Surviving correspondence and a ledger of manuscripts submitted for consideration allow a glimpse of narratives which were offered to Murray for publication but ultimately rejected. Murray's letters of rejection are rarely recorded, though, and the manuscripts in question were returned to their respective owners, leaving an incomplete picture of the publisher's motivations for accepting or rejecting new works. The correspondence does suggest that Murray declined to publish narratives which lacked the necessary attributes of novelty, but also those for which authors demanded unrealistic terms of publication. Murray allowed occasional concessions to his usual half-and-half profit sharing arrangement, offering a two-thirds share to authors whose narratives he was particularly eager to publish. Almost without exception, though, Murray refused to bend his terms in order to pay authors up-front; the correspondence indicates Murray refused manuscripts offered by writers whose motivations for publication were clearly financial. Were the narratives of travellers who expected to fund their journeys through their writing any less novel, by the nature of their motivations, than

those of the independently wealthy or externally funded? Perhaps. However, those in the latter categories clearly had more to offer Murray through influential connections to British intellectual and aristocratic communities. Though not his most profitable genre, travel narratives were a key element in establishing Murray's reputation as a gentleman publisher.

Tracing Assistance and Interference

Exceptional travellers were not always exceptional authors, and the John Murray Archive includes substantial evidence of the textual and paratextual editing which was necessary to polish travellers' narratives for publication. Many of the travellers whose works Murray published had rarely, if ever, written for publication, and Murray did not always have a completed manuscript in hand when deciding to publish. A sample chapter or outline could fail to illustrate flaws in an author's language or literary style. Furthermore, the importance of an author's geographical discoveries or social standing could overrule a manuscript's narrative failings.

The lack of surviving proofs in the archive makes it difficult to assess specific changes made by Murray's editors, and the term editing could encompass anything from minor grammatical adjustments to the complete re-working of a traveller's journals. However, correspondence does indicate how Murray communicated with some authors about the editing process and ledger books occasionally provide insight into the identities of editors and the extent of their work. Murray often delegated minor editing work to the same readers who initially evaluated manuscripts for publication. These editors smoothed difficulties of

language for foreign authors, and wordiness or awkwardness of style for inexperienced writers, but their work was rarely credited on the printed page.

When more substantial adjustments were called for, the editors Murray appointed, often expert naturalists or geographers of the region in question, were frequently acquainted with the authors with whom they worked. Editors enlisted for their technical expertise tended to be publicly acknowledged in authors' prefaces, rather than privately in the columns of Murray's ledgers. Assistance from a prominent member of the geographical community added authoritative weight to a new book, especially one from an unknown author. In some cases, authors were not available to supervise revisions because their continuing travels, or occasionally their death, prevented communication with Murray. In these circumstances, an editor was often required to see the manuscript through the press. The process could be frustrating when an author's rough notes were unclear, or when continuing travels produced additional material for publication, and archival correspondence between the various individuals involved in the editorial process can be challenging to trace.

Ultimately, the John Murray Archive, used alone as a source for research, is of limited utility in assessing the full scope of the publisher's textual influence on the books he published. Fragmentary correspondence between publisher, authors, and editors is suggestive of the network of scholarship Murray developed in order to manage the complexity of the narratives of travel he published. A few cases are exceptionally well documented, but the majority of the travel narratives Murray published between 1860 and 1892 were edited without difficulty or controversy substantial enough to merit inclusion in the publisher's records.

Aesthetics and Paratexts

Not only polished prose, but the apparatus surrounding the text — titles, prefaces, dedications, appendices, indexes, and illustrations — distinguishes published books from their origins as rough, in-the-field notes and journals. Part of Murray's responsibility in facilitating the transition from manuscript to printed book was to help authors with the often unfamiliar process of creating paratexts for their narratives. While Murray usually delegated matters of textual editing, the publisher did regularly engage authors in detailed correspondence about the content and physical form of paratexts. Since they were generally a potential reader's first introduction to a new work, it was in Murray's best interest to exert a substantial influence upon the paratext of his publications. The paratextual apparatus helped readers unfamiliar with an author's travels situate themselves not only within the narrative itself, but in the wider genre of travel literature.

Title pages were a site of both identification and authorisation, where Murray's authors declared in brief not only the topic of their narratives but their credentials to write upon such subjects. As with the texts of works he published, Murray encouraged clarity and novelty in authors' titles. Notably, however, where current scholarship often refers to "narratives of exploration", that phrase is not reflective of contemporary usage. More commonly, authors referred to "travels", "visits", or "journeys", and to their writings as "narratives", "accounts", or "journals". While phrasing varied, titles consistently identified the sites as well as something of the nature of an author's journey. This critical paratextual function was further expanded in a book's preface. Prefaces supported and extended the introductory purpose of a title, and nearly nine-tenths of Murray's later nineteenth-

century travel books included one. Their functions were many: to justify the author's motivation for seeking publication, defend the novelty and interest of the narrative, state the circumstances of travel and their effect upon the narrative's writing and editing, and apologise for any other anticipated deficiencies in the text, preferably with references to difficulties encountered in the field. This was one area in which predictable content was acceptable. Murray strongly encouraged authors to summarise their narrative's key features and novel content — concisely. Dedications, appendices, and indexes were less critical to readers' initial impressions of a book, yet they served essential functions of placing an author's narrative in its appropriate social and scientific context.

Titles and prefaces provided an opportunity for an author to distinguish him- or herself and articulate the novelty of a new book; in contrast, the physical appearance and internal organisation of the travel books Murray published maintained a remarkably consistent style throughout the later nineteenth century. There is little evidence that Murray was intimately involved with issues of textual format and layout, leaving these more mundane elements to the discretion of the printers. While the technologies of printing and publishing evolved substantially in the later nineteenth century, moderate edition sizes limited the effect of many of these innovations upon Murray's business. Processes which were suitable for a daily newspaper with circulation in the tens of thousands were inappropriate for an established publisher bringing out editions of 1,000 or 1,250 copies; similarly, a fine book of plates or photographic prints in an edition of only a few hundred could afford luxuries and embellishments which the majority of Murray's travel books could not.

One area where technological limitations presented particular difficulties was the reproduction of illustrations. The challenges travellers faced to faithfully reproduce their observations in print have been explored by Keighren *et al.* (2015), Fraser (2008), and Stafford (1984), while Ryan (1995, 2005, 2013) and Schwartz (2003) have examined the advantages and limitations of photographic technology in the British Empire.⁶⁷⁷ What has less often been considered, however, are the ways in which the economic limitations of illustration methods shaped what images could practically be published. The archival record of Murray's interactions with the Whympers family documents both the ordinary practices of the wood engraving trade, and the processes and expenses of the exceptionally fine illustrations which Whympers created for his own narratives.

Whympers's trade was first enlarged, and later encroached upon, by the adoption of photographic technologies in the second half of the nineteenth century. Travellers often wished to reproduce photographs in their printed narratives, but the cost was prohibitive; instead, wood engraved facsimiles were substituted for original prints. Murray's correspondence with William Ellis, a missionary to Madagascar, provides insight into the ways in which photographs could accurately represent the form of peoples and landscapes in the traveller's gaze. However, those photographs could not effectively be reproduced in a tone satisfying to either traveller or subject. The mediated reproduction of photographs, sketches, and written descriptions, but

⁶⁷⁷ Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015); E.A. Fraser, "Books, Prints, and Travel: Reading in the Gaps of the Orientalist Archive", *Art History* 31:3(2008) 342–367; Stafford (1984); Ryan (1995); Ryan (2005); Ryan (2013); Schwartz and Ryan (2003).

also the costs and technical limitations of the methods used to do so, shaped the ways travellers' observations were represented in print.

Murray wrote to John MacGregor: "Not only is public taste very fickle, an author who has been popular last year may cease to be so next; but also, the events of the day, political news, and absorbing rival publications may interfere to blight the best prospects".⁶⁷⁸ Murray did not sell books directly to customers, instead distributing them in quantity to booksellers and circulating libraries. While Murray had no control over the factors he listed to MacGregor, the publisher could adjust the price of new books, the season in which they appeared, and the ways a new title was announced to the public. Once a book was available for purchase, Murray worked to manage reviews, control the sale of copies abroad, and encourage continuing sales after the initial novelty of publication had passed. The negotiations around foreign publication and translation were particularly complex: fees charged for rights could contribute to Murray's profits, but foreign editions had the potential to harm sales of the British edition, and to reflect poorly upon author and publisher in the case of a poor-quality production.

Sales were often unpredictable. After an initial round of subscription by booksellers and circulating libraries, profits could continue to trickle in for years as the remaining copies were distributed. When demand exceeded supply, Murray could quickly reprint, but when authors or their families requested a new edition without the certainty of profit, Murray was hesitant to invest capital in old work whose novelty had diminished. To mitigate this risk, Murray could insert supplementary

⁶⁷⁸ NLS Ms 41914, John Murray to John MacGregor, May 21, 1869. p. 30. Punctuation adjusted for clarity.

chapters or extra illustrations so the book might appeal to new audiences. More often, a second or later edition was substantially reduced in bulk and cost – tranced down to reach a new class of reader. Ultimately, when the cost of storing books outweighed their value, any remaining copies were passed to discount booksellers, sold to authors at cost, or pulped for the value of their fibre.

In focusing on the cycle of publication, this thesis omits a thorough investigation of the specific experiences of these travellers in the field, the reception of their books by reviewers and the British reading public, and the impact of authors' discoveries and their narratives on development of geography in the later nineteenth century. In its concern with the technological and economic issues of bringing travellers' narratives to print, it also does not examine in detail the relationships between travellers and the tight-knit geographical community which existed in London during the later nineteenth century. The distinctions authors, readers, and scholars made between tourists, travellers, and explorers have been extensively explored by historical geographers, but I have largely sidestepped the persistent disciplinary debate of how to define travel.⁶⁷⁹ I have also avoided issues of imperialism, particularly the interactions between travelling authors and the peoples they encountered on their journeys. This is a thesis about the consequences of publishing travels, not about the consequences of the travels themselves. In an era of high empire, the implications of Murray's travellers for colonial power, and the influence their travels had upon the peoples and places they visited, have yet to be fully explored.

⁶⁷⁹ See, for example, Batten (1978); Borm (2004); Bridges (2002); Buzard (1993).

The archive provides a fragmentary record of manuscripts which Murray accepted and those the publisher rejected, but what of narratives which were never submitted at all? The thesis confirms and extends research by Driver, Cavell, Craciun, Keighren, MacLaren, Pratt, and Withers into what Driver (2009) terms “hidden histories of exploration”.⁶⁸⁰ As with the majority of nineteenth-century sources, the voices of many travellers — servants, assistants, crew members, and local guides — are almost entirely absent from the written record of Murray’s travellers. Surviving travel narratives largely reflect the experiences of authors with the leisure, both of time and of finances, to prepare and submit narratives and see them through the press.

Not only are authors’ in-the-field assistants and intermediaries often hidden from view, so too are influences upon authors’ narratives after they returned home. These influences reflect the economic as well as artistic realities of representing travellers’ observations. While several historical geographers have considered the impact of editors, readers, and publishers upon travellers’ published narratives, few have considered publishing as a business as well as an intellectual enterprise. Murray and his editors made decisions about the texts and paratexts of travel narratives not only to clarify content and emphasise credibility, but to ensure that the books they published were profitable and attractive to readers. Hidden histories of exploration, then, are in part hidden geographies of publication.

⁶⁸⁰ The literature is extensive. See, for example, Driver and Jones (2009), p. 2009; Cavell (2008); Cavell (2013); Withers and Keighren (2011); Keighren, Withers and Bell (2015); Pratt (2008).

One Archive, Many Murrays

Cook (2001) suggests that in the archive, “there is not one narrative in a series or collection of records, but many narratives, many stories, serving many purposes for many audiences, across time and space”.⁶⁸¹ The John Murray Archive has provided ample material for this research and it will reward generations of further study. The volume of surviving correspondence, ledgers, and other records of the Murrays and nearly two and a half centuries of their family business is enormous. In the course of this research, which considers just one genre of Murray’s publishing business over a period of only 33 years, I transcribed more than a thousand relevant letters totalling over 250,000 words of correspondence.⁶⁸²

Yet the John Murray Archive, while extensive, is not entirely complete. Its ledger books are summative rather than exhaustive. Biannual ledger totals record many financial details, but often combine expenses from multiple printings or record costs without giving the name of the business or individual who was paid. Some authors are represented with detailed ledger entries and extensive correspondence, but for many individuals, few letters survive — occasionally none at all. The arrangement of the incoming correspondence facilitates access for many researchers, but inevitably challenges those searching for information by date or by published title, rather than by author. The outgoing correspondence is even more fragmented: copy letter books record perhaps a tenth of Murray’s correspondence, while the

⁶⁸¹ T. Cook, “Archival Science and Postmodernism: New Formulations for Old Concepts”, *Archival Science* 1(2001) 3–24. p. 7.

⁶⁸² Searchable files of these rough transcriptions will be made available to researchers through staff at the National Library of Scotland.

original material is scattered among authors' papers in dozens of repositories, when it survives at all.

Determining which member of the extended Murray family was responsible for a particular decision, or even a particular area of business, can be impossible. While correspondence occasionally identifies John Murray III, John Murray IV, John IV's brother Hallam Murray, or Murray III's cousin Robert Cooke as having responsibility for some aspect of a new publication, it is much more common for letters to be addressed simply "Dear Sir", or "Dear Murray". Furthermore, the role of various members of the extended family changed over the course of my thirty-three-year study, as John Murray III aged and his sons increasingly took charge of the daily operations of their family business. Detailed analysis of handwriting and surviving family correspondence might clarify the division of responsibilities, but is beyond the remit of this research. As a result, this thesis has referred to the individual John Murrays, as well as their family members, employees, and business, simply as "Murray". Finally, while this thesis is a publisher-centred study, it is neither a biography, a house history, nor a comparative analysis of later nineteenth-century publishing practices. John Murray III lacks a modern biographer, and this thesis does little to address that need. Moreover, establishing the role of travel literature in the context of Murray's wider publishing business, and the market for books in Britain, is largely beyond the scope of this research.

The practices of a particular publisher, operating in one particular corner of the later nineteenth-century market for the printed word in Britain, cannot be extrapolated to apply all publishers, all genres, or all countries. Though it considers the publication of over one hundred individual works, then, this thesis cannot be a

fully comparative study. Unfortunately, the survival of the John Murray Archive is almost unique; the records of few other publishers survive in enough quantity, or sufficient public accessibility, to pursue similar research into the history of other publishing houses. A comparison of the cycle of publication for a more representative sample of nineteenth-century travel books, then, would be challenging, if not impossible — though it would certainly further geographical understanding of the ways publishers shaped the communication of travellers' experiences to the reading public.

Opportunity and Exclusivity

In the later nineteenth century, Murray was regarded as the foremost British publisher in the field of travel literature. Long associations with the Royal Geographical Society, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and the British Admiralty supported this status.⁶⁸³ Yet John Murray is not representative of the entire market for books of travel, even within Britain. In many ways, Murray resisted the democratisation of print for which the nineteenth century is noted. Rather than entering the business of producing penny and other cheap editions, John Murray maintained its position as a publisher which catered to well-educated and well-to-do readers — and, to a large extent, published exclusively the works of writers in those classes.

Paul Du Chaillu is credited with claiming: “My publisher is not a publisher — he’s a gentleman!”⁶⁸⁴ In reality, John Murray was both. While narratives of travel

⁶⁸³ Raven (2007).

⁶⁸⁴ RGS Archives, JMS/21/75. “A Remembrance of Du Chaillu”, typescript signed T.L.G. 1903.

were a key part of Murray's identity as a publisher, Murray averaged only about £400 profit per year from the genre. This was a reasonable contribution to revenue, but not a sustaining one; the business made the majority of its profits in other areas.⁶⁸⁵ In comparison with the time Murray invested in reading manuscripts, seeing books through the press, and corresponding with authors, the genre was barely worthwhile. Furthermore, Murray did not expect to make a profit from every publication. Questions of personal interest in the subject matter, friendships or previous professional relationships with authors (sometimes extending through several generations of family members), and patronage towards individual authors of high social standing could all influence Murray's decision to bring out a potentially unprofitable book. Murray's travel narratives were, in many ways, more beneficial to the publisher's public image than to its profitability. They brought distinction, acclaim, and notable members of British society to Murray's premises.

Relatively high prices and moderate print runs characterised all but a few of Murray's travel publications. The median price of first-edition travel narratives published by John Murray between 1860 and 1892 was sixteen shillings. Admittedly, the first edition of a three-volume novel still cost 31s. 6d. until the 1890s, approximately the entire weekly wage of a working-class family. Yet during the same time period, the annual subscriber's fee for Mudie's Circulating Library was a guinea, reprints of novels could be had for just 6 shillings, and a "railway novel"

⁶⁸⁵ NLS Ms 42730(e), Ms 42731(f), Ms 42732(g), Ms 42733(h). Notably, this figure does not include books of travel Murray had published before 1860, but continued to profit from (and occasionally reprint) during the later nineteenth century. Sales of Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, for example, continued well into the 1870s, though the book was first published in 1849.

often cost only a single shilling.⁶⁸⁶ Periodicals could cost only pennies and reached exponentially more readers. First editions of Murray's travel narratives were published, on average, in print runs of just 1,000 copies; when these sales figures are compared with the average circulation of a paper like the *Illustrated London News*, which at its peak reached over 300,000 readers per week, or even Murray's *Quarterly Review*, it becomes clear that Murray's publications, in their full form, reached only a tiny fraction of the population.⁶⁸⁷

Yet the cultural impact of the travel narratives published by Murray is greater than the number of copies printed would suggest. While it is difficult to know how many readers encountered each book, the substantial number of copies acquired by libraries could be borrowed by many patrons over the course of their circulating lifetimes. Furthermore, not all readers familiar with the travel narratives published by Murray had purchased or borrowed one of his editions. Periodical reviews often extracted substantial excerpts which could be appreciated by readers with no intention of purchasing the full narrative, and articles published in scholarly journals like those of the Royal Geographical Society could communicate a traveller's technical and scientific discoveries to those uninterested in narrative padding. Newspaper coverage provided brief introductions to authors' journeys, and lectures and presentations could further increase an author's public profile.

⁶⁸⁶ Altick (1957), p. 298, 306.

⁶⁸⁷ Korda (2015).

Professional Geography and Public Taste

During the later nineteenth century, barriers to travel were decreasing, but the business of exploration, and of writing about it, was still seen by some of its practitioners as an exclusive pursuit. To what degree did Murray's prominent position in the publishing community affected his notions of the legitimacy and social standing of the authors he published? Certainly, Murray's practices of profit-sharing and delayed payment excluded authors for whom writing was a means of financial support. Only in exceptional cases did Murray's authors earn substantial profits from their publications, particularly in comparison to the investment of time required to write and edit a manuscript, and to see the book through the press.

A closer examination of the ways Murray's authors were professionally and socially connected through the exclusive organization of the Royal Geographical society would reward further study. Writing to John Rae about the selection of members for an upcoming expedition, Sir Henry Rawlinson commented: "Whymper may be a good Alpine climber — indeed he has proved himself so — but I quite agree with you that his 'bumpkinness' is somewhat overpowering; and disqualifies him for Greenland exploration".⁶⁸⁸ Rawlinson substantially underrepresents Whymper's ability: after multiple expeditions to the Alps, Whymper had achieved the first ascent of the Matterhorn two years previously and was arguably the *best* Alpine climber of his generation. He was also one of the best wood engravers of his generation, yet, as a tradesman, he was disqualified from the opportunity to participate in the practice of exploration. Rawlinson's comment to Rae is exactly the

⁶⁸⁸ RGS Archive. CB5, Sir Henry Rawlinson to John Rae, February 14, 1867.

sort of practice which the John Murray Archive does not adequately reflect. The Archive aptly demonstrates the relationships between travellers and their publisher, but the dynamics and interactions of travellers among geographical and scientific communities, as well as those excluded from those communities, remain largely invisible.

Murray's authors all contributed to geography as the academic discipline is defined today, but not necessarily to the field of geography as it was understood by the later nineteenth-century British scholarly community. Authors were careful to frame their narratives as accounts of travel — not of tourism — in order to avoid connotations of frivolity and lack of substantive interest. They frequently identified themselves as travellers in the titles and prefaces of their narratives, yet they rarely identified as “geographers”.

This thesis supports the notion of the Royal Geographical Society as more than simply a scholarly organisation: a network of individuals who advised, critiqued, and occasionally edited the work of their fellow travellers.⁶⁸⁹ Reviewing an article submitted by Robert Shaw to the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Sir Henry Rawlinson commented: “This is a popular account of Mr. Shaw's visit to Yarkand and Kashghar very graphically told and full of amusing and interesting details regarding the country and its inhabitants. It contains however little Geography and no science and is hardly therefore fitted for the pages of our Journal”.⁶⁹⁰ Similarly, Roderick Murchison assessed a submission by Arminius Vambéry:

⁶⁸⁹ Withers (2010).

⁶⁹⁰ RGS JMS/7/54. Referee report on Robert Shaw's “A visit to Yarkand and Kashghar” for the Royal Geographical Society, by Sir Henry Rawlinson. March 29, 1870.

This paper is original and was of much interest some months back, as the first authentic report of Mr. Vambéry's wanderings submitted to the public — but its interest has been now completely superseded by the publication of Mr. Vambéry's book describing his travels in Central Asia in detail. I should think though a condensed notice... would be sufficient. The paper contains no materials for positive Geography, in the shape of observations or even compass bearings, but it is a pleasant popular sketch of the countries which Mr. Vambéry visited.⁶⁹¹

These reviewers, prominent geographers who had both published books with John Murray, thus offered a sharp critique of narratives of travels submitted to the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal*. Yet when Shaw and Vambéry offered their book-length manuscripts to Murray, the publisher eagerly gave each author preferential terms of two-thirds rather than the usual half share of profits. Clearly, Murray envisioned that his reading public would have substantially different tastes in style and content to those of the RGS *Journal's* readers. A narrative which was not precisely geographical in the later nineteenth-century sense of the word, but well-written, with memorable incidents and entertaining detail, was precisely the sort of manuscript Murray sought to publish.

The depth of the connections which Murray gained through these publications — to members of the British Admiralty, the Royal Geographical Society, the British Foreign and Colonial services, and members of the nobility — has yet to be fully explored. The John Murray Archive does, however, demonstrate the extent to which men and women whose names may not appear in a library catalogue influenced the translation of travellers' narratives into print. Geographers

⁶⁹¹ RGS JMS/7/26. Referee report on Arminius Vambéry's, "A Journey to Khiva, Bokhara and Samarcand" by R. Murchison. December 10, 1864.

must temper their assumptions about authors' intentions with an understanding that both narratives and the physical books which communicate them are shaped by many influences — not only editors concerned with geographical accuracy and authorial credibility, but by printers, illustrators, mapmakers, binders, and most importantly publishers, who must all adhere to the technical requirements, traditions, and economic realities of the business of publishing.

The technologies of printing have shaped not only our perception of the world but also the language we use to describe it. Illustrated accounts of nineteenth-century explorers and travellers certainly helped develop stereotypes of the peoples and places they visited, but the word stereotype was first used to mean a process which became standard practice in the nineteenth century: the taking of a mould from printing type so that when another edition of a book was required, plates could be cast from the moulds in the exact image of the first.⁶⁹² Stereotyping made books cheaper to print, but it made them harder to change. From 1860 to 1892, John Murray brought more than 130 narratives of travel to print. During those three decades, Murray stereotyped only a few of his most profitable works. In most cases, Murray could not justify the cost of a process which would only prove useful in the event of a sold-out edition. In a genre where novelty was critical, long-term stability in content and in form was not rewarded.

John Murray was constantly challenged with the need to balance tradition and innovation, profit and prestige. Murray gradually adopted new technologies of printing and illustration as they became affordable for the modest scale at which most of the publisher's works were produced. Narratives of production often

⁶⁹² Gaskell (1972), p. 201–206.

emphasise dramatic shifts, but Murray's habits were fundamentally conservative, relying upon norms for the production of travel narratives which had been developed by his father and grandfather.

A few of Murray's later nineteenth-century travel publications are well remembered, but most were printed in a single edition of just 1,000 to 1,500 copies, sold, and quickly forgotten. This thesis has examined the records of nearly every travel author Murray published in this period, not only the most profitable or prominent; the John Murray Archive, and the strength of its records concerning the processes of book making, has shaped the research. A publisher in the business of selling books, John Murray concentrated attention on the processes and economies of publishing, particularly on the paratextual elements through which most readers and booksellers first encountered published books. Pursuing this focus, the thesis has demonstrated the value of a longitudinal survey which accounts for economic as well as epistemic influences upon geographical publishing. In making arguments about the text and paratext of printed books, then, geographers must acknowledge that decisions made by authors and publishers were governed not only by intellectual or aesthetic goals, but by the financial and technological conventions and limitations of the processes by which their books were produced.

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Appendix A

Table of Critical Bibliographical Information

Note: Titles and dates of publication are transcribed from published volumes, preserving original spelling and punctuation. Authors' names are as recorded in Library of Congress authority records, where available; additional dates of birth and death sourced from Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and other published works. Publication quantities, profit-sharing arrangements, and price are recorded from ledgers in the John Murray Archive, where available, and from archived correspondence. Additional price information has been gathered from Murray's Literary Advertisers. Price information records the earliest located price advertised to the public; actual revenue received by John Murray was lower, due to discounts to the trade (see Chapter 7). Blank cells indicate data not located.

Date	Author	Title	Volumes	Advertised Price	Copies Printed in First Run	Profit-Sharing Arrangement
1860	Carnarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux, Earl of (1831-1890)	<i>Recollections of the Druses of Lebanon. And notes on their religion</i>	1 vol.	5s. 6d.	1500	1/2 & 1/2
1860	Forbes, Charles Stuart (1829-1876)	<i>Iceland; its volcanoes, geysers, and glaciers</i>	1 vol.	14s.	1750	1/2 & 1/2
1860	Gouger, Henry (1799-1861)	<i>Personal narrative of two years' imprisonment in Burmah.</i>	1 vol.	12s.	2000	1/2 & 1/2
1860	Marryat, Horace (1818-1887)	<i>A residence in Jutland, the Danish isles, and Copenhagen.</i>	2 vols.	24s.	1250	1/2 & 1/2
1860	Tristram, Henry Baker (1822-1906)	<i>The great Sahara: wanderings South of the Atlas Mountains.</i>	1 vol.	15s.	1500	1/2 & 1/2
1860	Tyndall, John (1820-1893)	<i>The glaciers of the Alps. Being a narrative of excursions and ascents, an account of the origin and phenomena of glaciers, and an exposition of the physical principles to which they are related.</i>	1 vol.	14s.	1500	1/2 & 1/2
1861	Du Chaillu, Paul B. (Paul Belloni) (1835-1903)	<i>Adventures in the great forest of equatorial Africa and the country of the dwarfs</i>	1 vol.	21s.	10,000	2/3 & 1/3

1861	Wilson, Robert Thomas, Sir (1777-1849)	<i>Private diary of travels, personal services, and public events, during mission and employment with the European armies in the campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814. From the invasion of Russia to the capture of Paris.</i>	2 vols.		750	1/2 & 1/2
1862	Blakiston, Thomas Wright (1832-1891)	<i>Five months on the Yang-Tse; with a narrative of the exploration of its upper waters, and notices of the present rebellions in China</i>	1 vol.	18s.	1250	1/2 & 1/2
1862	Borrow, George Henry (1803-1881)	<i>Wild Wales its people, language, and scenery</i>	3 vols.	30s.	1000	1/2 & 1/2
1862	Burgon, John William (1813-1888)	<i>Letters from Rome to friends in England</i>	1 vol.	12s.	1250	1/2 & 1/2
1862	Davis, N. (Nathan) (1812-1882)	<i>Ruined cities within Numidian and Carthaginian territories</i>	1 vol.	16s.	1000	1/2 & 1/2 [advanced £50 by Murray]
1862	Markham, Clements (1830-1916)	<i>Travels in Peru and India while superintending the collection of chinchona plants and their seeds in South America, and their introduction into India.</i>	1 vol.	16s.	1000	1/2 & 1/2
1862	Marryat, Horace (1818-1887)	<i>One year in Sweden; including a visit to the isle of Götland.</i>	2 vols.	28s.	1000	Unknown [loss]
1862	Mayne, Richard C. (1835-1892)	<i>Four years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island. An account of their forests, rivers, coasts, gold fields, and resources for colonisation.</i>	1 vol.	16s..	1250	1/2 & 1/2
1863	Atkinson, Lucy (1817-1893)	<i>Recollections of Tartar steppes and their inhabitants</i>	1 vol.	12s.	1250	2/3 & 1/3
1863	Bates, Henry Walter (1825-1892)	<i>Naturalist on the river Amazons: a record of adventures, habits of animals, sketches of Brazilian and Indian life, and aspects of nature under the equator, during eleven years of travel</i>	2 vols.	28s.	1250	2/3 & 1/3
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1865	Rennie, D.F. [David Field] (d.1868)	<i>Peking and the Pekingese during the first year of the British Embassy at Peking.</i>	2 vols.	24s.	1000	1/2 & 1/2
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1889	Lumholtz, Carl (1851-1922)	<i>Among cannibals an account of four years' travels in Australia and of camp life with the Aborigines of Queensland</i>	1 vol.	24s.	1500	Purchased Copyright
1889	Ross, Janet (1842-1927)	<i>The land of Manfred Prince of Tarentum and King of Sicily, rambles in remote parts of Southern Italy, with special reference to their historical associations.</i>	1 vol.	10s. 6d.	1000	Unknown [loss]
1890	Du Chaillu, Paul B. (Paul Belloni) (1835-1903)	<i>A journey to Ashango-land: and further penetration into equatorial Africa</i>	1 vol.	7s. 6d.	1000	Unknown [loss]
1890	Somerset, Susan Margaret McKinnon St. Maur, Duchess of (d. 1936)	<i>Impressions of a tenderfoot during a journey in search of sport in the far West.</i>	1 vol.	12s.	1000	Unknown [loss]
1891	Barkley, Henry C.	<i>A Ride Through Asia Minor and Armenia: giving a sketch of the characters, manners and customs of both the Mussulman and Christian inhabitants.</i>	1 vol.	10s. 6d.	750	1/2 & 1/2
1891	Berkeley, Hastings George Fitzhardinge (1855-)	<i>Japanese Letters: Eastern impressions of western men and manners, as contained in the correspondence of Tokiwara and Yashiri</i>	1 vol.	6s.	1000	Unknown [loss]

1891	Bird, Isabella L. (Isabella Lucy) (1831-1904)	<i>Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan including a Summer in the Upper Karun Region and a Visit to the Nestorian Rayahs</i>	2 vols.	24s.	2000	2/3 & 1/3
1891	Dufferin and Ava, Harriot Georgina Blackwood, Marchioness of (1843-1936)	<i>My Canadian journal 1872-8 extracts from my letters home written while Lord Dufferin was Governor-General</i>	1 vol.	12s.	2000	2/3 & 1/3
1891	Stuart, Henry Windsor Villiers (1827-1895)	<i>Adventures amidst the equatorial forests and rivers of South America; also in the West Indies and the wilds of Florida. To which is added "Jamaica revisited."</i>	1 vol.	21s.	750	Commission
1891	Whymper, Edward (1840-1911)	<i>Travels amongst the great Andes of the Equator</i>	1 vol.	21s.	3000	Commission

Appendix B

Table of Incoming Correspondence Consulted

Note: Dates and quantities are not necessarily exhaustive, particularly for authors who had extensive publishing relationships with Murray; where additional correspondence is present beyond dates or subjects pertinent to this thesis, I did not always record those items.

NLS Manuscript Number	Author	Number of Letters	Dates of Correspondence	Notes
None	Atkinson, Lucy (1817-1893)	0	--	None found
Ms 40051	Barkley, Henry C.	22	1876-1891	
Ms 40068	Bates, Henry Walter (1825-1892)	26	1862-1888	
Ms 40069	Bax, Bonham Ward (1837-1877)	3	1875	
None	Beauclerk, Diana de Vere, Lady (1734-1808)	0	--	None found
Ms 40074	Beauvoir, Ludovic de (1846-1929)	9	1870-1917	
Ms 40084	Belt, Thomas (1832-1878)	2	1873	
None	Benjamin, S.G.W. (1837-1914)	0	--	See Ms 41195 (Ticknor) for correspondence with Benjamin's American publisher
Ms 40090	Berkeley, Hastings George Fitzhardinge (1855-)	10	1887-1893	
Ms 40095	Bickmore, Albert S. (1839-1914)	7	1867-1868	
None	Bigg-Wither, Thomas Plantagenet (1845-1890)	0	--	None found
List	Bird, Isabella L. (Isabella Lucy) (1831-1904)	many	--	
Ms 40105	Bisset, John Jarvis (1819-1894)	5	1875-1877	
None	Blakiston, Thomas Wright (1832-1891)	0	--	None found

Ms 40126	Blunt, Anne Isabella Noel (1837-1913)	23	1870-1898	
None	Borrow, George Henry (1803-1881)	0	--	None found
Ms 40147	Bridges, F.D.	8	1882-1889	
Ms 40151	Brocklehurst, Thomas Unett	11	1882-1883	
Ms 40168	Burbidge, F. W. (Frederick William) (1847-1905)	5	1879-1900	
Ms 40169	Burgon, John William (1813-1888)	9	1858-1888	More letters present but illegible
Ms 40550	Carnarvon, Henry Howard Molyneux, Earl of (1831-1890)	45	1859-1889	
Ms 40205	Cesnola, Luigi Palma di (1832-1904)	37	1877-1880	Including 4 letters from his wife
Ms 40233	Coles, John	2	1883-1892	
Ms 40234	Collingwood, Cuthbert (1826-1908)	13	1867-1885	
Ms 40264	Cooke, Edward William (1811-1880)	30	1860-1878	
Ms 40274	Cooper, Thomas Thornville (1839-1878)	1	1870	
Ms 40303	Cunynghame, Arthur Augustus Thurlow, Sir (1812-1884)	15	1872-1879	
Ms 40319	Davis, N. (Nathan) (1812-1882)	6	1862-1863	
Ms 40279	De Cosson, E.A. (Emilius Albert) (1850-1889)	20	1875-1889	
Ms 40206	Du Chaillu, Paul B. (Paul Belloni) (1835-1903)	many	1861-1902	
Ms 40108	Dufferin and Ava, Harriot Georgina Blackwood, Marchioness of (1843-1936)	many	1862-1918	
Ms 40377	Ellis, William (1794-1872)	34	1826-1869	
None	Elton, James F. (1840-1877)	0	--	Posthumous: See Ms 40280, Henry Cotterill and Ms 41234, Horace Waller (editors)
Ms 40413	Forbes, Charles Stuart (1829-1876)	4	1860	
None	Fortune, Robert (1813-1880)	7	1857-1860s	Most letters about other subjects
Ms 40443	George, Ernest (1839-1922)	3	1890s	None relevant to his travel books

Ms 40448	Gill, Isobel Sarah (1849-1919)	7	1878-1914	
Ms 40448	Gill, William John (1843-1882)	5	1879-1882	
Ms 40471	Gouger, Henry (1799-1861)	5	1861	
Ms 40497	Guillemard, F. H. H. (Francis Henry Hill) (1852-1933)	50	1884-1925	Many letters about other subjects
Ms 40556	Hickson, Sydney John (1859-1940)	7	1889-1902	
Ms 40584	Houstoun, Matilda Charlotte (1815?-1892)	35	1845-1891	
None	Hubner, Joseph Alexander (1811-1892)	0	--	See Ms 41176, Alice Taylor (translator)
Ms 40606	James, Frank Linsly (1851-1890)	5	1884-1890	
Ms 40615-6	Jennings, Louis John (1836-1893)	20	1877-1892	Several additional letters about other subjects
Ms 40675	Lawrence, George (1804-1874)	5	1873-1884	
Contact NLS	Layard, Austen Henry (1817-1894)	many	--	
Contact NLS	Livingstone, David (1813-1873)	many	--	
Ms 40706	Loch, Henry Brougham (1827-1900)	27	1860-1898	
Ms 40721	Lumholtz, Carl (1851-1922)	38	1888-1902	
Ms 40739	MacDonald, Alexander	30	1886-1889	
Ms 40742	Macgregor, John (1825-1892)	41	1836-1880	
None	MacPherson, Samuel Charters (1806-1860)	0	--	
Ms 40777	Markham, Clements (1830-1916)	30	1860-1900s	
Ms 40780	Marryat, Horace (1818-1887)	7	1860-1862	
Ms 40799	Mayne, Richard C. (1835-1892)	10	1862-1880	
None	Mayo, Dermot Robert Wyndham Bourke, Earl of (1851-1927)	0	--	None found

Ms 40800	Meade, Herbert George Philip (1842-1868)	14	1862-1882	Posthumous: all letters from his brother Robert Henry Meade
Ms 40810	Michie, Alexander (1833-1902)	6	1864-1871	
None	Mills, John (1812-1873)	0	--	
Ms 40829	Minchin, James George Cotton (1851-1933)	20	1886-1888	
Ms 40849	Moresby, John (1830-1922)	11	1875-1908	Including 1 letter from his wife
Ms 40854	Mouhot, Henri (1826-1861)	6	1863-1864	Posthumous: all letters from his wife, Anne
Ms 40854	Mounsey, Augustus Henry (1834-1882)	5	1879-1881	
Ms 40858	Mundy, Rodney, Sir (1805-1884)	3	1862-1875	Additional letters present from earlier dates
None	Musters, George Chaworth (1841-1879)	0	--	
Ms 40870	Nares, George Strong (1831-1915)	5	1876-1877	See also a relevant note enclosed with Ms.40591 (S.W. Hunt)
Ms 40896	Otter, R.H.	6	1882-1894	
Ms 40900	Paget, George, Lord (1818-1880)	8	1880-1885	Posthumous: all letters from his son, Cecil Stratford Paget
Ms 40905	Palliser, Fanny Bury (1805-1878)	2	1869-1870	Many additional letters about other subjects
Ms 40997	Rae, Edward (1847-1923)	26	1874-1923	Several additional letters about other subjects
Ms 41002	Rassam, Hormuzd (1826-1910)	6	1855-1895	
Ms 41006	Redhouse, J. W. (James William), Sir, (1811-1892)	5	1874-1877	
Ms 41007	Reed, Edward James (1830-1906)	9	1868-1884	Several additional letters about other subjects
Ms 41011	Rennie, D.F. [David Field] (d.1868)	4	1865-1868	
Ms 41034	Romilly, Hugh Hastings (1856-1892)	9	1886-1888	Including 6 letters from his mother, Elizabeth

Ms 41039-040	Ross, Janet (1842-1927)	many	--	232 folios of Ross' correspondence, most about other books
Ms 41045	Rumbold, Horace (1829-1913)	13	1886-1889	
Ms 41066-068	Schliemann, Heinrich (1822-1890)	many	--	
None	Seddon, John Pollard (1827-1906)	0	--	
Ms 41076	Seebohm, Henry (1832-1895)	1	1882	
Ms 41082	Shaw, Robert (1839-1879)	6	1870-1872	
Ms 41095	Skene, James Henry (1812-1886)	5	1853-1886	
Ms 41099-102	Smiles, Samuel (1812-1904)	many	--	
Ms 41103	Smith, Alfred Charles (1822-1898)	32	1861-1889	
None	Somerset, Susan Margaret McKinnon St. Maur, Duchess of (d. 1936)	0	--	
Ms 41163	Street, George Edmund (1824-1881)	many	1850s-1880s	
Ms 41166	Stuart, Henry Windsor Villiers (1827-1895)	11	1891-1892	Additional letters are present from later dates
Ms 41181	Temple, Richard, Sir (1826-1902)	4	1880-1881	Several additional letters about other subjects
None	Thielmann, Max von Freiherr (1846-1929)	0	0	See Ms 40545, Charles Heneage (translator)
Ms 41191	Thornhill, Mark (1822-1900)	6	1884-1900	Including 1 letter from his son
Ms 41200	Tozer, Henry Fanshawe (1829-1916)	39	1868-1884	
Ms 41203	Tristram, Henry Baker (1822-1906)	8	1860-1883	
Ms 41214	Tyndall, John (1820-1893)	16	1858-1871	
Ms 41219	Vambéry, Armin (1832-1913)	many	1864-	
Ms 40689	Van Lennep, Henry J. (Henry John) (1815-1889)	10	1867-1870	
Ms 41269	Whympers, Edward (1840-1911)	13	1862-1909	Additional letters are present from later dates
Ms 41269	Whympers, Frederick (1838-1901)	1	1870	

None	Wilkinson, Hugh (1850-?)	0	--	
None	Wilson, Robert Thomas, Sir (1777-1849)	0	--	
None	Young, E.D. (Edward Daniel) (1831-1896)	0	--	
None	Zincke, Foster Barham (1817-1893)	0	--	

